

The Reign of Elizabeth

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Queen from the ignominy of admitting Elizabeth to a share in her subjects' allegiance.

CHAP III

1560
May

No sooner was Cecil gone than the influences which he most dreaded were brought to bear upon Elizabeth. Incessantly on the watch to assail her in her weaker moments, the smooth-tongued de Quadra was charged with a message to her from the Pope. It had been resolved at a meeting of the Cardinals to treat her errors with paternal kindness; instead of letters of interdict and excommunication, to send the Abbot of St. Saviour's, who had been one of Pole's chaplains, to confer with her; and de Quadra was commissioned to win a promise from her to receive him. How the message was accepted, with much else on the Queen's general humour, the ambassador tells for himself.

De Quadra desires Elizabeth to receive a nuncio from the Pope.

DE QUADRA TO THE BISHOP OF ARRAS.¹

London, June 3.

'The commissioners are gone. The Queen expects that the French cannot relieve Leith, and that famine will force the garrison to surrender. The French, on this side, are as confident as she. They believe that they will make terms with the insurgents, and go on with their projects. For myself, I think the chances are much; the garrison, I know, is in difficulties: they will have leisure to arrange their quarrels, and will offer them generous terms. It is in my opinion, that she has been served. I hope to the Queen she could not conceal her uneasiness, neither so bitter, nor so suspicious of her. If she succeed in her wild projects of embroiling us

¹ MS. Simancas.

with France, and of making one monarchy out of this island, she will care nothing for us; but, in case she fail, she desires to keep on terms with our King, who, if her Catholic subjects rebel, may be able to pacify them for her.

‘These last she is arresting right and left. I told her she was treating them cruelly and wickedly. She said they were conspiring to make a revolution: she could show me proofs of it; and those who had appeared the most sanctified were the worst.’

‘It has become too plain that neither menace can terrify her nor kindness win her confidence. I employ a tone with her therefore in which I can point out her mistakes, and show her the mischief which may rise from her chimerical policy, without driving her into a passion. I do not blame her: I lay the fault on her advisers. I have told her that at the beginning of her reign she ought to have strengthened herself with a prudent marriage; she should have looked for alliances abroad, she should have attended to her revenues, and have engaged officers to train her subjects in the art of war.

‘She thought I was alluding to that first great offer of ours which she refused. She said she was well aware of the greatness of the King our sovereign; the world had not another such match to offer; but she had no wish to marry—she hated the thought of it; her greatest happiness would be to live and die a virgin. As to the Archduke, she had given the Count Helfesteyn an answer with which he ought to have been satisfied; and the person in fault in this matter was the old gentleman,¹ who would not let his son come to England.

¹ ‘Aquel viejo’—meaning the Emperor.

‘ I told her she must be perfectly aware that I could not believe that. I knew too much about the Earl of Arran and her scheme for the union of the realms. ’

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‘ She pretended to be very angry, and protested that she had no intentions of the kind. ’

‘ Speaking of the war, I said she had been wrong in quarrelling with the French ; she knew that she might have perfect confidence in his Majesty ; and his Majesty—as M. de Glasion had told her—was ready to send troops of his own to Scotland, to spare her every reason for alarm. The Scots were a miserable bankrupt people, engaged in a scandalous rebellion, and inveterately hostile to England. ’

‘ We talked long. I silenced her ; but she remained unconvinced and unchanged. At last she said, the past could not be cured. ’

‘ Her object in pressing matters to extremity has been to divide us from France. If she fail, she leaves a door open to recover her seat and her stirrups with the help of his Majesty. She is now aware that she cannot light up a continental war again ; but she still hopes to expel the French from the island, and to unite the realms ; and, till she is undeceived on this point also, she will never confess the truth. Her conviction is, that the Low Countries will not endure to be at war with England, and that his Majesty for his own sake will be forced to continue her friend. ’

‘ Leaving these matters we talked of the mission of the Abbot of St. Saviour’s from the Pope. She seemed surprised, and remembering the humour of the Catholics even alarmed. ’

‘ I said his Holiness being a wise prince and a loving father to all his children, could have no object save to give her paternal admonition and advice. I thought

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perhaps the mission had originated in a suggestion of the King our sovereign, who always hoped that a woman so gifted and so wise would find a way to reunite her subjects with the Universal Catholic Church. His Majesty, I knew, had expressed this conviction to the Pope, to obviate the designs of the French; and the Pope perhaps wished to ascertain her real feelings.

'She was evidently pleased: she was afraid that his Majesty had withdrawn his support from her at Rome, and a declaration of the Pope against her at this moment, she knows, would be most unseasonable. For this reason, she went on to tell me that she was as good a Catholic as I was. She called God to witness that her belief was the belief of all Catholics in the realm.

'I said that, if this was true, she had done wrong in dissembling against her conscience on a question of so vast importance. She had committed a crime against her poor subjects, who had been led by her example to desert their religion. Her very honour was touched by it.

'She replied that she had been compelled at the time to act as she did, and that if I knew how she had been driven to it she was sure I should excuse her.

'I said nothing could excuse her; or, if circumstances were conceivable which might palliate her conduct, they had not existed in her case. As the realm stood when she succeeded to the crown, she might have kept religion as her sister left it, with far less trouble and danger to herself.¹

¹ 'Consóllese mucho á esto, porque cierto ella temia que su Mag^d hubiese alzado la mano de su proteccion en Roma, y sabe que le vendria muy a mala sazón cualquiera declaracion que el Papa hiciese en su negocio . . .

y con este placer vino á decirme que era tan Catolico como yo, y que hacia á Dios testigo de que lo que ella creia no era diferente de lo que todos los Catolicos de su reyno creian.

'Dijela que como disimulaba en cosa

‘ In the end I pretended to believe what she said ; and I made much of it, that she might find a difficulty hereafter in extricating herself from her words, which assuredly she will try to do when her present alarms are over.

‘ I brought her to say that the nuncio which the Pope was sending should be welcome, and that it should not be her fault if the Church was not united again.

‘ If I had pressed for a more distinct promise, I believe she would have given it ; but her words are not her thoughts. I am as convinced as ever that her real intentions are what I have before described them ; but I am astonished at the effrontery with which, on such grave subjects, she will say whatever is convenient for the moment.

‘ After all however she is a woman and inconstant ; and she may one day be compelled to do what now she pretends to be willing to do.

‘ I affected to believe her and even to appear in some degree satisfied with her. Had I shown her that I saw through her, I should have driven her to animosity and obstinacy. We parted better friends than usual. It is idle to threaten ; I may not go beyond my commission ; and, by keeping up appearances with her however false, and by pretending to be her friend, I am able to tell her

desta calidad contra su conciencia y contra la de los pobres subditos que por su ejemplo dejaban la religion verdadera y contra su honor proprio que padeceria grandemente haciendo mudanzas en cosa en que no se sufría hacerla la menor del mundo.

‘ Respondióme que era forzada ad tempus, y que yo supiese lo que á esto le habia forzado que sabia que la

tendria por escusada.

Dijele que yo sabia bien que ninguna cosa podría escusarle en tan importante negocio, pero que aunque pudiese escusarse yo sabía que el estado de las cosas de este reyno era tal que con mucho menos peligro y trabajo pudiera conservar la religion que halló en el tiempo que murió su hermana.’

things which she does not know, and which her ministers keep concealed from her. Your Grace in this will not disapprove my conduct.¹

Was Elizabeth, as de Quadra supposed, simply a practised diplomatist? was she, a young woman of twenty-seven, already so careless of truth, so skilled in the artifices of state-craft? In the crooked policy of the last twelve months, she had been compelled often to equivocate, and sometimes deliberately to lie. Yet the language of Cecil and Killigrew pointed rather to some uncertainty in herself—to some infirmity of purpose in a mind but half-made up. A Protestant, in the sense that Cecil was a Protestant, Elizabeth never to the last became. It is more natural to believe that she had many humours, many partially-formed views, by which she allowed herself in turn to be influenced.

To return to the northern commission.

Before Cecil reached Newcastle, the engineers had been discovered in de Randan's train.² Papal emissaries were reported to be busy in the families of the Scotch nobles. The women as usual were on the side of conservatism, romance and the Catholic faith; and Randolph wrote that 'too many of the lords kept their promises only so far as their wives would have them.'³ The most cheering feature was the increasing famine in the Leith garrison. Sir Henry Percy had been able to tell Norfolk on the 5th of June, that d'Oysel finding that no help could reach him from France and that a second English army was ready to advance, had admitted that he must be

¹ De Quadra to the Bishop of Arras, June 3.—*MS. Simancas.*

² Cecil to Norfolk, June 4.—*MS. Rolls House.*

³ *MS. Ibid.*

overpowered, and had expressed a wish to treat with Percy rather than 'taste the cruelty of Lord Grey.'¹ There was as yet no actual starvation 'except among the superfluous people;'² but famine was in the town with fever in its rear, and it was advancing.

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The first conference at Newcastle resulted only in an adjournment to Edinburgh. Before the commissioners were over the Border, the French party had lost for ever their presiding spirit.

Shut up in Edinburgh Castle, cut off from her friends and half a prisoner under the cold neutrality of Erskine, the mother of Mary Queen of Scots had sunk from day to day her body swollen with dropsy, the visible shadow of death fast closing over her; yet to the last going through her daily work with the same cheerful resolution, cool, clear and dauntless as became a daughter of the House of Guise.

Her position was forlorn, and even tragic; religion had not many consolations for her; her confessor was an abandoned debauchée, whose ministrations must have been a mockery, and it was over late to learn a new creed. But she came of a race who could bear the goods and ills of fortune with an even pulse, nor was she a person at any time to believe that much depended on nice precision of opinion. In May she had seemed better; at the beginning of June the worst symptoms returned. On the 6th she was reported 'very ill and like to die.' On the 8th she sent for Chatellerault and Lord James Stuart; her hands and feet were then grow-

¹ Percy to Norfolk, June 6.—*MS. Rolls House*. Possibly, however, this too was 'practice.' Percy might be suspected of sharing the opinions of his brother, the Earl of Northumberland;

and d'Oysel might hope to make a party in the English army.

² Cecil to the Council, June 8.—*BURLEIGH Papers*, vol. i.

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Illness and
death of
Mary of
Guise.

ing cold; she knew that she was dying and though scarcely able to speak she said she was sorry for Scotland and sorry for her own share in Scotland's sufferings. 'Her mind' seemed 'well disposed to God.' Lord James whose earnest Calvinism made him anxious for her fate asked if he might send for Willock the preacher—Knox's colleague in Edinburgh. She made no objection, and Randolph in a letter to Norfolk said that Willock at the moment when he was writing was at the Queen's bedside.¹ She heard him probably with but a languid sense of what he said, for her mind was wandering; she received the last sacraments as a Catholic, and desired the two noblemen not to leave her while she breathed; at midnight, between the 10th and 11th of June, she died.

So ended Mary of Lorraine, once Mary Duchesse de Longueville, the wittiest, brightest, fairest ornament of the Court of Francis the First whom Henry the Eighth had desired as a bride; now closing thus her nineteen years of widowhood and exile in the land of the stranger.

To her had been committed the hopeless task of fighting the Reformation and holding together the friends of France, at a time when another destiny was marked out for Scotland, and the alliance with France was perishing to revive no more. From Solway Moss to the siege of Leith her retrospect was a strange one—her child's

¹ Knox may be pardoned the triumph with which he describes the scene:—'Quhowsoever it was, Christ Jesus got na small victorie over sich an ennemy. For albeit before sche had avowit that in despyte of all Scotland the preacheris of Jesus

Christ sould ather die or be banisheit the realm, yet was sche constraincit to heir ane of the principell ministeris within the realm, and to approve the chief heid of our religion.'—Knox, *History*, vol. ii. p. 71.

birth and her husband's death; the harrying of Scotland by Henry's armies; the murder of Beton, and the vain carnage of Pinkie Cleugh—through it all she had clung fast to the helm—tempest-tossed yet with firm front and heart undaunted; and now at length her cause like herself was in its death-throes.

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Her body remained in the castle—to be carried back to France when opportunity allowed; and was treated meanwhile with decorous though Puritan solemnity.¹ With her the worst enemy of England was gone; and the chance if chance there had been of prevailing on the Scotch nobles to make a separate peace with France had departed with her. The news gave increased resolution to the English Council. A letter followed Cecil on the 15th, telling him that if de Randan and Monluc took advantage of the Queen's death and pretended inability to proceed, he might 'let them go' and 'take order for as vigorous a use of force as might be;' 'her Majesty being determined to go through with expelling the French without longer delay.'

The commissioners on both sides reached Edinburgh on the 16th. There had been no fighting since the failure of the 7th of May; but the blockade had been sustained rigidly by sea and land. On the 18th an intercepted letter from de Randan to d'Oysel informed Cecil that no relief could be sent from France before August at the soonest. De Randan said he intended to agree to withdraw all the French except a few at Dunbar and Inchkeith; but he was instructed to agree

Conference
between the
French and
English
Commis-
sioners.

¹ 'I saw the Dowager's corpse in a bed, covered with a fair white sheet, the tester of black satin, and the bed hanged to the ground with the same. It is determined she shall have all

solemnities fit for such a personage, save such as savour rather of superstition than of Christian piety.'—*Randolph to Killigrew, June 20. Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

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to no clause by which the Queen of Scots should abandon her claim on the English Crown. He might promise that the King of France would use his influence to induce her to relinquish the arms and style; but his commission went no further.¹

Reform in
the army.

Cecil was thus in possession of two valuable secrets, and knew for what he was to look and how far he might dare to insist. Meantime there had been a general reform of the army; the strutting in gay dresses had been a vice of the English officers; 'some captains carried twenty some forty soldiers in their hose.' Extravagance had led to fraud, and fraud to worse mischiefs. Sir Peter Carew had come from London with summary power from the Queen to punish delinquents and to set crooked things straight. With Carew's assistance discipline had been restored, and the troops were reported to be 'doing truly and worthily like good men of war.'² Of Lord Grey, Winter, and Randolph, Cecil could not speak in too high praise: 'My Lord Grey,' he said, 'is a noble, valiant, painful and careful gentleman. Randolph worth more than I fear our time will well consider, and no poolar nor robber. Of Mr. Winter all men speak so well I need not mention him.'³

Norfolk with the army of reserve reported himself from Berwick as ready to come forward should the French prove intractable. It was evident that embarrassed at home and in dread of Philip, the French Go-

¹ Decipher of an intercepted letter to M. d'Oysel, June 18.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.* 'had an especial aversion to the fine dresses. 'Your Majesty,' he said, 'will think me a great enemy to sumptuous apparel, that neither can spare my speech at it in London nor in Edinburgh.'

² Report of Sir Peter Carew.—*FORBES*, vol. i. Cecil to the Queen, June 19.—*MS. Rolls House.* Cecil

³ *Ibid.*

vernment did not mean to declare war. De Randan's solitary hope was of working upon the Scots.

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The Scots themselves felt their advantage and were inclined to make the most of it.

'Although,' wrote Cecil, 'the lords of Scotland¹ hate the French and be devoted to England, yet some be for one respect and some for another. Many questions be moved to me whereunto I cannot answer. As for making a peace here, I think we may sooner do it than the Scots would have it.'

The Scots desired to have the benefit of both connexions; they wished to keep the pensions and lands which many of them held in France; they desired to use the assistance of England to insist on points which the English themselves most desired to see abandoned; they were impatient for the conclusion of the Arran marriage on which Elizabeth had been ominously reserved. From Maitland, Argyle, and Lord James, Cecil derived his most real help. Maitland, he said, 'was disposed to work all the minds of the nobility to allow anything which the Queen of England might determine.' Maitland was 'most in credit for his wit' of any in Scotland, and 'almost alone sustained the whole burden of government.' 'Next him was Lord James, not unlike, neither in person nor qualities to be a king's son.' 'Argyle was a goodly gentleman universally honoured of all Scotland.'²

The conference opened on the 17th. An armistice³ was allowed for a week; and the armies had leisure to exchange courtesies. The French and English officers met at a sort of picnic on Leith sands, 'each bringing

¹ Cecil to the Queen, July 19.—*MS. Rolls House.*

² Cecil to the Queen.—*MS. Ibid.*

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JuneLeith sands
and French
diet.

with him such victuals as he had in store.' From Grey's camp came hams, capons, chickens, wine, and beer. The French produced a solitary fowl, a piece of baked horse, and six delicately-roasted rats; the last, they said, was the best fresh meat in the town, but of that they had abundance.¹

The Gospel also became fashionable with the improvement in its chances of success. The Scots had adopted the Genevan 'discipline.' Many persons confessed their sins before the Congregation at sermon time in Cecil's presence, and Lady Stenhouse the mistress of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's and the mother of his children was ordered to do penance on the following Sunday.² Among the first difficulties in the conference were the extravagant pretensions of the preachers, to whom mere toleration seemed now utterly inadequate. Had it not been for Maitland 'whose credit and capacity was worth any six others,' 'their folly would have hazarded all.'³

The French
concede all
the demands
of the Scots.

In general however the French conceded everything which the Congregation demanded. It was agreed that 'they might remain in their religion, as a thing the French dared not meddle withal.' Of the whole French army, fifty soldiers only would remain at Inchkeith and fifty at Dunbar; the number was not to be increased; they were to be 'answerable to the justice of Scotland;' and should be withdrawn wholly if the Scotch Parliament on its next meeting should so desire. All seemed going well. In his anxiety for peace, and his uncertainty how far he would be supported at home, Cecil had been even inclined to pass lightly over the more

¹ Randolph to Killigrew, June 22.—*MS. Rolls House.*

² Ibid.

³ Cecil to Norfolk, June 25.—*Hatfield MSS.*

difficult points of the treaty with the Scots, and the title to the English Crown. Calais had not been so much as mentioned; and peace was on the point of conclusion when a difficulty arose from an unexpected quarter.

Elizabeth, finding her Cassandra prophecies unfulfilled, had passed to an extremity of confidence. Encouraged by 'the rugged state of the French, and their little power to annoy her,'¹ she desired to obtain some more substantial advantage from her outlay, than Cecil had been prepared to demand. She had relinquished in her heart—if she had ever seriously entertained—the thought of marrying Arran, and uniting England and Scotland; and she had, therefore, to look to indemnify herself in another quarter. Cecil had expressed his belief 'that if she had money to carry on the war for a year, she might so abase France, as her posterity to the third generation might live quietly.'² She had suddenly discovered that she was both ready and willing. She sent orders to Cecil to exact a literal and formal admission of her right to make a treaty with the Scots; she required the Queen of Scots not only to engage to abandon her claim on the English Crown, but to signify to all the world, by a formal act and proclamation, that she withdrew her pretensions; and, further, she insisted that the treaty of Cambray was void, and that her right to Calais and to the old debt of the half million crowns should be referred to the arbitration of the King of Spain.³

The 'new matter' put all in a hazard. A day or two later the Queen, in a second letter, demanded from them that a clause should be added to the treaty, which the

¹ Sir T. Parry to Cecil, June 22.—*MS. Rolls House.*

² Cecil to the Queen, June 29.—*MS. Ibid.*

³ Elizabeth to Cecil, June 26.—*MS. Ibid.*

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Scotch nobles should sign binding themselves as parties for whom their sovereign's signature did not wholly suffice—to see its conditions fulfilled. If the French refused to consent, the conference was to cease, and Norfolk should advance from Berwick, and 'set on in God's name.'¹

A survey of Leith had convinced Cecil that unless the French troops mutinied, the capture of it would still be expensive and bloody. The garrison was not yet at its last extremity; the salmon were coming in from the sea, and were caught in numbers with boats and nets in the mouth of the harbour. Arrows were shot over the walls, with notes attached to them, telling the French troops that they were to be sacrificed, in the hope that, with 'this practice,' 'the town might be rendered.' Yet even a bare surrender Cecil hardly desired, feeling that if Leith fell without conditions, the pride of France would be touched too deeply, and peace would be made impossible.²

The English
demand the
restoration
of Calais.

The French commissioners had evidently reached the extent of the concessions which they were prepared to make. They would grant everything which the Scots asked for; they would yield nothing to the English. When Cecil, in obedience to Elizabeth's orders, brought up his demand for Calais, de Randan refused to entertain it. 'Rather than the house of Guise would deliver Calais,' he said, 'in the minority of the King, being a conquest of theirs, they would suffer all those in the town to perish.' Neither he nor Monluc 'durst so much as enter into speech thereof, for fear of the loss of their heads.'³

On 'the arms and style' they were at first equally

¹ Elizabeth to Cecil, June 28.—*MS. Rolls House.*

² Cecil to Norfolk, June 28.—*Hatfield MSS.*

³ Cecil to the Queen, July 2.—*MS. Rolls House.*

unwilling to give way. Cecil offered 'to spend his blood in the quarrel upon any that would deny Queen Elizabeth's right.' At length, 'after vehemency and some threatening,' de Randan consented 'to have it confessed in words that the realms of England and Ireland of right appertained to her Majesty.' But the league between England and the Scotch nobles, the French commissioners positively and decisively refused to recognize by word or deed. They said that they had 'special instructions which they could not disobey, not to mix matters of Scotland and England in one treaty, or dishonour their master with noting that he was forced by the Queen of England to observe anything towards his own subjects.' Cecil said that it might stand as 'a separate engagement;' but 'his travail was in vain; while Elizabeth's letter to himself left him no discretion. The French could not yield a point which they were distinctly directed not to yield; and 'utterly against his will Cecil was forced to break off, and commit the matter to God.' The importance of the question to the Queen of Scots can be easily understood; the right of the Scotch nobles to make a treaty with the Queen of England was the first step in the transfer of their allegiance; while if the treaty was concluded without it, 'the French,' Cecil said, 'would soon find ground to quarrel again with the Scots;' by avoiding the mistake of resuming prematurely the arms of England, they would leave Elizabeth without a pretext for interfering a second time; and, if the Scots were left without support, the friends of France among them would recover their ascendancy.²

The French will not recognize the league between England and the Scots.

¹ The confession thus extorted is in the clause beginning 'Cum Regnâ Angliæ et Hiberniæ ad dictam serenissimam Dominam Elizabetham jure

spectent et pertinent.'—*Treaty of Edinburgh*. RYMER, vol. xv. p. 594.

² Cecil to the Queen, July 2.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

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The commissioners separated; and Cecil most unwillingly was about to direct the advance of Norfolk and the second army; a letter to the Court announcing the failure of the conference, was written and sealed; when 'perplexed with the lack of peace' he sent a message to Monluc, which brought Cecil and the Bishop of Valence together again by themselves.

The difficulty is at last arranged.

Both had been anxious for an arrangement; both were disappointed at their ill success. A vague clause was suggested by which the King and Queen of France might promise Elizabeth to fulfil their engagements with the Scots.¹ It did not amount to a stipulation; it was not literally covered by the prohibitory order of the French Court; yet it recognized in Elizabeth the shadow of a right to interfere if those engagements were broken. De Randan consented; Cecil was satisfied, peace was concluded, and the treaty of Edinburgh was drawn and signed.

The Treaty of Edinburgh.

The substance of it was generally this:—The Scots obtained a general amnesty, the removal of the French army, with a promise that it should never return, the limitation of the officers of state to their own people, and a Government by a council of twelve noblemen, seven of whom were to be named by the Queen, and five by the Estates. Nothing special was said of religion; but it was left to be settled between the Queen of Scots and her own Parliament. The Scottish nobles were permitted to retain the pensions and estates which they held under the French Crown.

England obtained an admission of Elizabeth's right to her Crown, a vague and partial sanction of her relations

¹ The clause beginning 'Cum Deo optimo Maximo,' &c.—*Treaty of Edinburgh*. RYMER, vol. xv. p. 595.

with the Queen of Scots' subjects, and the disappearance for ever of the threatening army of invasion on the northern Border.

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The names of the commissioners were affixed on the 6th of July. It was but just in time. On the 7th another letter arrived from Elizabeth; she was exasperated at the success with which the Scots were securing their own interests, and at the small profit which in return for so much money spent she was likely to receive for herself; if peace was concluded, she said, it need not be disturbed again. If there was still time,—‘the Scots could not serve God and Mammon,’—Cecil must tell them that they must be content to part with their livings and pensions in France, which would breed troubles; while for herself he was to stand to his demand for the restitution of Calais and the payment of the half million crowns, as an indemnity for the usurpation of the arms.¹

Fresh orders
from
Elizabeth.

The public letter was accompanied by another in cipher addressed to Cecil. It is lost; but Cecil's answer to it remains, to show the flight which Elizabeth's ambition was now ready to venture.

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY.

Edinburgh, July 9.

‘It may please your Majesty; the sight of your most gracious letter written with your own blessed hands, before I had deciphered it, raised me up in such height of comfort that after I perceived the sense thereof, my fall was greater into the deep dungeon of sorrow than ever I thought any letter of your Majesty's should have thrown me.

¹ Elizabeth to Cecil and Wotton, July 9.—*BURLEIGH Papers*, vol. i.

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‘And yet after a season gathering my astonished spirits together, I am risen into this opiniõn and comfort of your Majesty’s accustomed goodness towards me, and of my own clearness of mind and soul, that when it shall appear by our letters sent from hence the 5th of this month how far we were proceeded, and that also it shall be well weighed in all parts how honourable and necessary this peace is, and how it could not be made any other way, your Majesty will not only take and allow our doings, but will think it a good luck that we had not these your letters before our conclusion ; for so had no peace at all been gotten. For breaking off upon the matter of Calais, the French ambassadors would have departed, and my Lord of Norfolk should have entered ; whereupon must within ten days have happened one of these three things—either the loss of the town, and a perpetual dishonour of the realm—or a winning of it by assault, to the effusion of a great deal of Christian blood—
• or a taking of it by composition—by any of which three ways wars still should have remained ; and then by what means Calais could have been obtained, I see not ; nor by what means this manner of peace would have hereafter been obtained, I neither see, nor can consider.

‘As for the message brought by Tremayne,¹ God forbid that your Majesty should enter into that bottomless pit of expense of your force and treasure, within the French King’s own mainland—being that manner of war to you more troublesome and dangerous than this of the French King here in Scotland ; and yet this is his advantage, that the obedience of this is due to his

¹ There were two Tremaynes, one of whom was with the army at Leith. Both had been employed in carrying

messages between the Prince of Condé, the Admiral Châtillon, and Elizabeth.

wife and cannot be lost; and there your Majesty should have no more to further you but a devotion popular upon opinions of religion; wherein the French King rather than lose that country, would not stick to incline to his people's request, and so your Majesty's purpose could not then last.

'Indeed this I could and meant always to have allowed, that if ye could not come to a reasonable accord with France, but that they would continue wars, then your Majesty should have entertained that matter of Brittany and Normandy—to have therewith offended and annoyed the French King. But as to have taken and kept any piece there, experience of Boulogne being in sight of Dover teacheth us what to do; and when I consider that for charges neither is Portsmouth your own haven fortified, neither the town of Berwick—most necessary of all others—finished; I should think it strange to take Brest or any other town in those parts, to keep longer than of necessity the French would maintain wars against your Majesty; which being now ceased, and to your great honour, I think it a happy mishap that your Majesty's letter came not before our conclusion. In which my opinion I most humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon me, submitting myself to your Majesty's reformation as becometh me.

It is plain that some communication had been made to Elizabeth by the Huguenot leaders of France; some offer to put her in possession, in return for her assistance, of a town or towns on the coast of Normandy or Brittany; and that Elizabeth in her passionate anxiety to recover Calais had listened to the temptation.

¹ *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

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JulyGeneral
results of
the war.

The fate of the project when two years later it was actually put in execution, the story in due time will relate. Meanwhile, her letter came a day too late. The objects for which the war had been undertaken were obtained. The French troops sailed away from Leith. The Scots were left to their own resources to go on with the Reformation. Elizabeth's crown was secured. The Catholics had seen their opportunity fade away amidst the diplomatic perplexities of Europe. The English Government which was supposed to be so weak that it would fall at the first breath of war, had proved strong enough to defy France and accomplish successfully a difficult military enterprise. The King of Spain was forced to feel that Elizabeth was no creature of his own; that she could choose her own course and carry through her own purposes, whatever might be his pleasure or displeasure.

Lord Clinton wrote to Cecil that 'no better service had ever been done to England;' he trusted it would be 'no less considered than it deserved;' and 'time would show the fruits of it to his great praise that had so discreetly travailed in the same.'¹

It remained to be seen how far Elizabeth was prepared to go on with what she had begun, to fulfil the passionate wishes of the Congregation, and accept the hand of the heir presumptive to the Scotch crown.

I have pursued the story of these proceedings in Scot-

¹ Clinton to Cecil, July 13. — *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.* 'My Lord Pembroke,' Clinton continues, 'is your very good friend. Touching the matter of Scotland, he remaineth firm and sure as in the beginning without change or alteration, and hath hitherto stayed his going

from the Court until he might hear of a final order of the matter of your commission, which now he heareth to be such as is much to his contentation.'

At the foot of the letter Pembroke adds his signature to that of Clinton, who must have shown Pembroke what he had written.

land thus minutely, because they bring out with so much distinctness the relations of the great powers of Europe towards one another, and towards their own subjects; and the characters at the same time of those princes and ministers who were to work out among them the problem of the future of the world. Had Elizabeth preferred her immediate ease and safety, she would have married Philip's kinsman, and disclaimed all connexion with Scotch or French or Flemings struggling for freedom. She would have left religion in England unchanged, attempting to modify the fanaticism of the Catholics by some practical toleration; and so have drifted on in happy insignificance, till some fresh ascendancy of ultramontaniam and persecution had been followed by rebellion and civil war. To this issue it must have come at last. The Catholics were constitutionally intolerant, the Protestants constitutionally aggressive. Even the strong hand of Henry the Eighth would have failed eventually to hold an even balance between them. Yet such a course promised better for the moment for the political influence of England—better for peace and quiet at home. The temptation of it to a common nature would have been irresistible; and that Elizabeth remained in essentials true to the great cause of the Reformation to which she owed her birth and crown, must never be forgotten when we are provoked to condemn her inconsistencies. That she was without distinct doctrinal conviction was rather her merit than her fault. That she was irresolute—that she listened to all sides—that she was unwilling to risk a throne in defence of opinions with which she had but a moderate sympathy—that she was irritable and impatient—that she quarrelled with her truest friends—all this is plain enough, but it is also reasonable enough. If she had

Merits and
demerits of
Elizabeth.

CHAP III. other faults, she was young—and she was a woman.
 1560 It is sufficient praise that she perilled crown and life in
 July a bold and noble policy.

One special ground of irritation the Queen had too, and special claim for sympathy. Of a nature most free, proud and independent, she found her own person among the pieces of the diplomatic game. She was to be assigned to this suitor or that according to the projects of this or that political party. She knew that she might be compelled to endure what nevertheless appeared to her a degrading sacrifice; and while she was prepared to yield at the last extremity, the necessity exasperated her pride.

Beyond England the eye rests chiefly on the strange position of Philip of Spain. Charles the Fifth had bequeathed by will to his son two special injunctions—to destroy heresy, and to maintain the English alliance: and Philip found himself distracted between the incompatible obligations, with no middle course discoverable.

Difficult
position of
the King of
Spain.

If he interfered for France he gave the English throne to the French Queen. If he defended Elizabeth he was maintaining the most dangerous enemy of the Catholic faith. He could not allow the English Catholics to use the occasion of the Scotch war to rebel, lest they should cripple the Queen's power to resist France; and thus virtually he made himself her ally in carrying out a policy which he most dreaded and most deplored. He assisted in establishing the Reformation throughout the whole island of Great Britain, feeling even while doing it that the example in the dangerous neighbourhood might drag the Netherlands into the vortex. De Quadra clung to the hope that Elizabeth might still keep her promise and admit the nuncio; but he found, as he expected, that she had changed her mind with the change of fortune in Scotland. She objected personally to the

Abbot of St. Saviour's, as having been a friend and companion of the detested Pole. She endeavoured to persuade the Spanish ambassador that between Lutherans and Catholics there was no substantial difference, and that if he knew what she thought he would be sufficiently satisfied with her.

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'I told her,' the bishop wrote to Philip, 'that knowing how she had been brought up I was surprised at nothing that she did. But to your Majesty I am forced in discharge of my conscience—and that I may not be wanting in my duty to your service—to say how deeply the Catholics here are hurt at the support which this Queen has received from your Majesty, and at the opportunity which you have afforded to heresy to strike its roots into the realm.¹ I am well aware of the efforts which your Majesty has made to divert her from her evil ways; but seeing that nothing avails, you have to consider whether you must not now alter your conduct towards her. The injury to your Majesty's estate in the Low Countries is but too certain. Ten thousand of your subjects are already here with their preachers and ministers, and those who are left behind will be soon infected.

'I see the Queen obstinate. I see the hearts of the Catholics alienated from your Majesty. Will your Majesty be pleased to think of these things, and to tell me what I am to do?'²

Resentment
of the
English
Catholics
against
Philip.

¹ In the margin, opposite this passage, Philip wrote 'á este capitulo es bien mirar.'

² De Quadra to Philip II., July 25. —*MS. Simancas.*



CHAPTER IV.

CHAP IV

1560
July

IF Cecil hoped for gratitude on his return to the Court his expectations deceived him. Clinton and Pembroke might express their private satisfaction; the Duke of Norfolk might think the 'agreement' so happy for England, 'that the Queen could not have bought it too dearly;' he might wish 'that those who quarrelled with it might do their country as good service;'¹ but the Queen had set her heart on a more substantial result for the money which she had laid out. The favourites of the palace who hated Cecil, and had objects of their own at which they could arrive only through Cecil's fall, persuaded her that she might have covered herself with glory, and extorted the surrender of Calais; and knowing that the conclusion of the peace would bring with it the necessity of accepting the Earl of Arran, or of affronting the Scots by his rejection, she quarrelled with conditions which far exceeded her recent anticipations, and resented the close of a war which she had so unwillingly consented to undertake.

Could she have acknowledged a community of religious interest with the Scotch reformers, Arran or no Arran, she might have secured the attachment of one at least of the two great parties into which Mary Stuart's

¹ Norfolk to Cecil, July 29.—BURLEIGH *Papers*.

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July

subjects were divided ; but the clause which would have identified her faith with theirs had been expunged from the treaty with the Lords. The Reformation with which Elizabeth sympathized was the abolition of the spiritual tyranny which encroached on freedom. She hated Calvinism—she hated Knox. The heated zeal of the reforming preachers she wished to strangle with copes and surplices ; and while the returned exiles were denouncing the man of sin, she had been herself coquetting, not in entire insincerity, with the Pope's proposal to send a nuncio to England. The Scots had been made formally to feel that she had interfered for them on political grounds alone. Was she prepared to accept the political conditions on which, in the absence of religion, the alliance could alone be secured ?

For the Arran marriage the Scotch Catholics were as anxious as the Scotch Reformers, and the Lords of the Congregation cared more for it than for the Genevan gospel. To give a King to England, to end the long rivalry of Scot and Saxon in a union in which the descendant of the Bruce should sit on the throne of the Plantagenet, was a passion in which Scotland, divided on everything else, was eagerly and enthusiastically united.

'All the Lords,' Randolph wrote from Edinburgh, the 27th of August, 'are bent on the marriage.' 'They know the inequality of the match ; but they hope that, of the nobleness of her nature, the Queen will consent. She will gain the hearts of the whole nation which neither money nor force could win. It is our daily and hourly talk.'¹ The suspicion that Elizabeth was unfavourable had—as Sir James Crofts truly said—been the chief cause of the lukewarmness of 'the neutrals.' The ultra-

Anxiety of
the Scots
for the
Arran
marriage.

¹ Randolph to Cecil, August 27.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

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Protestants in England were no less unanimous.¹ Cecil indeed, when spoken to at Edinburgh about it, 'had shifted the matter, as unwilling to enter on it;' yet Maitland 'could not persuade himself that Cecil being so wise and well-affected towards his country, did altogether mislike it.'² To Lady Cecil under whose roof the Earl of Arran had lived while in London Maitland addressed himself as confident of her support and aware of her opinion.³ Nor were her husband's wishes in themselves doubtful. The union of the realms was the culminating point of his policy, and the marriage would be at once the final severance of Scotland from France, and the link of a league which would enable England to defy and despise the menaces of the Catholic Powers. Cecil however understood too well his mistress's humour to feel confidence; and Arran, had there been no other objection, was a raw, sullen, half-crazy boy, who under the most propitious circumstances would have failed to find favour.

The time was come when the Queen would be compelled to declare her intentions.

As soon as the French were gone from Leith and the English army were over the Border, the Scotch Estates assembled at Edinburgh, and Knox and his friends proceeded to reconstruct the Church. Far dif-

¹ 'I hope and pray that all may be well with Crito and Glycerium. It is of the greatest moment that England and Scotland be united; and I trust only those may not hinder it who wish well neither to them nor to us.'—*Jewel to Peter Martyr, Zurich Letters*.

² Maitland to Cecil, September 3. —*Scotch MSS.*

³ 'Now, by Mr. Secretary's wisdom are we come to a good end of our troubles, if promise be kept. Marry, now we shall begin to have most need of your help in the matter whereunto you know I most earnestly press. I believe time is not able so to overcome you that you will wax cold in it.'—*Maitland to Lady Cecil, July 19, 1560. Hatfield MSS.*

ferent was the form assumed by the Reformation in the two kingdoms. In England it was the revolt of the laity against ecclesiastical authority; in Scotland the Calvinist elders desired to retain for themselves the supremacy from which the priesthood had been deposed. Religion north of the Tweed remained the basis on which civil society reposed; the elect ministers of God were the prophets by whom his will was made known; they were or sought to be the supreme rulers of a state of which their special theology was the law code, and where moral and spiritual sins were identified with civil crimes.

At the opening of the session Knox 'preached from Haggai' on the rebuilding of the temple. A system of doctrine was prepared embodying in its first form the entire spirit of Calvin religious and political. A petition was presented by the Congregation for the abolition of the 'man of sin,' whose representatives—'those murderers, rebels, and traitors,' the Roman clergy—'passed their time in whoredom, adultery, deflowering virgins; and corrupting matrons;' the Congregation desired the establishment of pastors in their place, who would feed Christ's flock with the milk of the word?

That Knox represented in these views the wishes of the noblest of his countrymen the after history of Scotland may be taken to prove; but as yet there were many even of the moving party unprepared to submit to him; the foundation of the kirk was a great thing, but it was not everything; there appeared to be truths of earth, if not truths of heaven, which Calvin's formulas failed to reach; and the Reformation did not then mean simply a despotism of ministers in the place of a despotism of priests. 'Hey, then!' said Maitland, after the sermon, 'we may all bear the barrow now to build the House of the Lord.' 'The Confession of Faith,' as

Ecclesiastical character of the Reformation in Scotland.

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1560
AugustThe Con-
fession of
Faith.

it left the hands of its framers, contained a dangerous 'chapter on the obedience or disobedience which subjects owed to their magistrates.' When 'the magistrate' commanded what, in the opinion of 'the minister,' the word of God forbade, disobedience was represented to be the subject's duty. Maitland and Lord James considered that this 'was unfit matter to be entreated at that time;' 'the austerity of many words was mitigated,' and 'sentences' omitted, 'which seemed to proceed rather of some evil-concealed opinion than of sound judgment.'¹ Tempered however into the form in which it now stands upon the Scotch Statute Book, 'the Confession' passed unanimously, 'many offering to shed their blood for it.' 'The bishops' feeling the stream too strong against them 'were silent.' Old Lord Lyndsay, as he gave his vote, said—'I have lived many years: I am the eldest of this company, of my sort; now that it hath pleased God to let me see this day when so many nobles and others have allowed so worthy a work, I will say with Simeon, *Nunc Dimittis Domine*.'²

The mass was abolished: persons saying mass, or hearing mass, were made liable for the third offence to be put to death; and the Pope's authority was declared to be for ever at an end.

¹ Randolph to Cecil, September 7.

—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Among the visitors to Edinburgh on the occasion of this Parliament was an ambassador from Shan O'Neil to the Earl of Argyle. The chief—nothing less than a chief would have been sent on such an errand, and he was probably the ancestor of some living Irish peer—had come over *more Hibernico*; he 'had walked on foot out of Ireland.'

'His diet by reason of the length of his journey so failed him that he was fain to leave his saffron shirts in gage. The rest of his apparel such, that the Earl before he would give him audience arrayed him from the neck downwards. Cap he would have none.' Tall, gaunt, and shaggy, with his glib shading his eyes, 'he lodged in the chimney,' 'his drink aquæ vitæ and milk.'—*Randolph to Cecil. MS. Ibid.*

Whether Elizabeth expected more or expected less—whether she had desired the English model to be more exactly imitated—whether she was merely impatient with the Scots, and disposed to make faults if she did not find them—their proceedings did not please her. Cecil complained of the Confession of Faith; Randolph endeavoured to prevent it from passing;¹ and so angry was the Queen, and so anxious were the moderate Scots to gratify her, that Maitland promised if she would specify what she disliked to see it ‘further altered or modified.’²

The Estates were ready to yield anything could they bring Elizabeth to consent to ‘the other matter.’ They had set their whole heart on her marriage with Arran, and they could not rest till it was brought about. The repeated visits of Maitland to England, his personal acquaintance with Elizabeth, and his intimate relation with the Cecils, enabled him to conjecture better than most of his countrymen her probable reluctance; and though himself as anxious as the rest, he knew that the subject must be approached with the utmost wariness. The Estates to his extreme vexation determined at once make a formal proposal, and he was unable to prevent them. No sooner were the Church matters disposed of than the subject was brought under public discussion. A resolution was passed to send a special embassy to London.³ All parties were so determined that they could not be restrained from the expression of their wishes; and Maitland could but send apologies to Cecil depre-

¹ ‘If my poor advice might have been heard touching the Confession of Faith, it should not so soon have come into the light.’—*Randolph to Cecil, September 7. Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Maitland to Cecil, Sept. 13.—*Ibid.*

³ The resolution has been printed by Keith, vol. ii. p. 6, and was mistaken by him for the petition taken to London by the commissioners—a very different document.

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cating his displeasure, and obtain a brief delay from the Estates while he prepared the way by a private letter.

An immediate answer was naturally looked for, but no answer came. 'Never in my life was I so desirous to hear from you,' Maitland wrote again 'yet I can learn nothing.'¹ Rumour only said that Elizabeth was in a worse humour than ever, and that she had been listening to complaints against the Scots from the Cardinal of Lorraine.² The symptoms were unfavourable, but the Estates were in earnest. Elizabeth knew their wishes, and had forborne at least to forbid the expression of them. They forced a favourable interpretation upon her silence, and drew up at length a formal address to the English Council, pressing the marriage as the only means to make the alliance between the two countries permanent.

The Estates
request
Elizabeth to
marry the
Earl of
Arran.

'Other devices,' said the Estates, in this remarkable paper, 'may seem probable for a time, but we fear not for long. We wish the best, but many incidents which may fall out make us to fear the worst; but if this may take place, then are all doubts removed for ever. We have no King to offer you—the more sorry we; but we present unto you him who being in place next unto a King shall bring with him the friendship and force of a kingdom. We assure you with him of the hearts and good will of a whole nation, which you could never by riches obtain. We present no stranger, but in manner your own countryman—seeing this isle is a common country to us both, one that speaketh your own language, one of the same religion. You need not fear that by marriage of a King of Scotland unto a Queen

¹ Maitland to Cecil, September 7.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Ibid.

of England, the pre-eminence of England might be de-
faced, for that should always remain still for the worthi-
ness thereof; neither need you fear any alteration of the
laws, seeing the laws of Scotland were taken out of
England, and, therefore, both these realms are ruled by
one fashion. By these means, Ireland might be re-
formed; and thus the Queen of England become the
strongest princess upon the seas, and establish a certain
monarchy by itself in the ocean, divided from the rest of
the world.¹

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The sincerity, the unanimity, the earnestness, with
which the Scots were pressing their proposals, could not
be disputed. Mary Stuart was far away—the childless
Queen of a foreign realm, from which at that time there
seemed no likelihood that she would ever return. Her
sovereignty, by the expulsion of the French, had been re-
duced to a name. Could this marriage have been brought
about, the shadow would soon have followed the substance.
The opportunity for so complete a retaliation on the
rival claimant of her Crown—the occasion freely offered
of accomplishing without effort the passionately-cherished
object of her father and grandfather, must have been a
temptation to which Elizabeth could hardly have been
insensible. Why then had Cecil been so long silent?
Why when he wrote at last was he silent still on the
subject nearest to every Scottish heart? and why did he
say that he was about to resign his office, and retire
from the Queen's service?

He had been working for her gratuitously. Elizabeth
had not allowed him even the expenses of his journey to
Scotland. Shortly after his return, at the beginning of

¹ MS. Scotland, Rolls House.

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August she went on progress on which he had not accompanied her. She was entertained among other places at Basing House by Lord Winchester; and the old Marquis took the opportunity of the visit to write to Cecil of certain 'back counsels' about the Queen to which she was giving too easy credence, and of some influence which was especially unfavourable to Cecil himself.

Cecil is out
of favour.

'There shall never appear assured council,' Winchester said, 'until you have a smaller number, and perfect trust of the Princess in them; and the mean time all good councillors shall have labour and dolour without reward; wherein your part is most of all men's, for your charge and pain be far above all other men's, and your thanks and rewards least considered; and specially for that you spend wholly of yourself, without your ordinary fee, land, present, gift, or anything, which must needs discomfort you; and yet when your counsel is most for her Majesty's honour and profit, the same hath great hindrance by her weak credit of you, and by back counsel; and, so long as that manner shall continue, it must needs be dangerous service and unthankful.'

The Lord Treasurer however recommended Cecil to bear with his treatment for the present, as well as he could; "to pass things as he might, and take other doings in moderate part, till better help might come;" while he himself would 'play the part of a good subject,' and tell the Queen the truth.¹

Three days later Cecil was himself at Basing, brought there perhaps by Winchester's letter. Of what passed while he was there, the only evidence is a letter written

¹ Winchester to Cecil, August 24, from Basing.—BURLEIGH *Papers*, vol. i.

by him from thence on the 27th of August, to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. He had urged on the Queen—but urged in vain—that some small presents should be made to those of the Scotch nobles who had done best service in the war. It would ‘have been good economy,’ he thought—‘spending a thousand pounds to save twenty;’ but Elizabeth would not listen; nor were her objections merely on the ground of inability, or of simple unwillingness to bestow favours, since at the very time when she was accepting the unpaid services of her ministers, and refusing to reward the exertions of Argyle and Lord James Stuart, she was conferring on Lord Robert Dudley the lucrative and mischievous privilege of exporting woollen cloths free of duty.¹ In lamenting her determination to Throgmorton, Cecil implied some grave misgivings as to her general proceedings.

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AugustLetter of
Cecil to
Throg-
morton.

‘I dare not write that I might speak,’ he said. ‘God send her Majesty understanding, which shall be her surety; and so full of melancholy I wish you free from it. as I doubt not but your fortune shall be to find you free. I omit to speak of my comfort in service that in this journey have for her honour oppressed myself with debt and have no consideration made me; I can bear it better for myself than for others.’²

Irritated at this fresh mortification, resenting the neglect of his services, and distressed perhaps more deeply by a cause which will presently appear, Cecil seems now to have determined to withdraw from public life. On the 29th of August two days after his letter

¹ LANSDOWNE MSS. 4.

² Cecil to Throgmorton, August 27; from Basing.—CONWAY MSS. *Rolls House*.

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September
Cecil pro-
poses to
resign.

to Throgmorton, he wrote to Randolph who was in Edinburgh with the Lords,¹ to say that he was about to resign his office.

‘Your absence from Court,’ replied Randolph, on the 7th of September, ‘if it so chance, will be more grievous unto some men than the loss of half their lives. I dare not as yet give them here any token thereof; and for mine own part I know that when you leave that place you occupy many will greatly doubt what will become of their cause.’²

A few days later Randolph wrote,

‘The reasons why you should retire yourself are better considered on your part than coveted of your friends, who wish you would abide the consummating of the happy work that is now in hand.’³

Again a few days and Randolph wrote once more, in answer this time to some information which Cecil had sent him of an extremely agitating kind.

‘Though my case be as miserable and as far from happy good fortune as any man’s that ever travailed so far, or served prince with so willing and careful heart, yet I call God to witness I sorrow more for other men’s misfortunes than I lament my own.

‘The first word that I read of your letter of the 11th⁴ of this present, conferring it with such bruits and slanderous reports as have been maliciously reported by the French and their faction, so passioned my heart

¹ The letter itself is lost, but Randolph’s answer to it remains.

² Randolph to Cecil, September 7—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

³ Same to the same, September 23.—*MS. Ibid.*

⁴ Amy Robsart’s death was generally known in London on the 11th of Sept.

that no grief that ever I felt was like unto it; I neither had word to comfort, nor advice to give to my friends. We measured our affection for our country and friends as though we had seen that heart that you wrote with your pen. The self-same comfort that you stay yourself upon, *quod jactas curam tuam super Dominum*, doth also relieve us, and so we intend to moderate our cares. Both — and I thought it good for a time to keep your letters from all. It is yet no time to cast such doubts.”

These letters, too simple, too natural, and too varied to leave room for a suspicion of any intentional deception practised by Cecil upon his correspondents, form an introduction to the following despatch from de Quadra. It cannot fairly be doubted that Cecil at the end of August, was not in favour with the Queen; that he was much dissatisfied at the state of the public service, and that he thought of leaving it. It is equally certain that on the 11th of September, he had communicated something of a most distressing nature to Randolph.

DE QUADRA TO THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.¹

London, September 11.

‘Since my last letter to your Highness, so many great and unexpected matters have taken place here, that I think it right to give you immediate information of them.

‘On the 3rd of this month the Queen spoke to me about her marriage with the Archduke. She said she had made up her mind to marry, and that the Archduke was

¹ Randolph to Cecil, September 23. the Government at Brussels, as the nearest point from which he could receive instructions. The despatches were then forwarded to Philip.

² When anything of unusual importance occurred in England, the Spanish ambassador wrote first to

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September

to be the man. She has just now told me drily that she does not intend to marry, and that it cannot be.

‘After my conversation with the Queen, I met the Secretary Cecil whom I knew to be in disgrace. Lord Robert I was aware was endeavouring to deprive him of his place.

‘With little difficulty I led him to the subject ; and, after many protestations and entreaties that I would keep secret what he was about to tell me, he said that the Queen was going on so strangely that he was about to withdraw from her service. It was a bad sailor, he said, who did not make for port when he saw a storm coming ; and for himself he perceived the most manifest ruin impending over the Queen, through her intimacy with Lord Robert. The Lord Robert had made himself master of the business of the State and of the person of the Queen, to the extreme injury of the realm, with the intention of marrying her ;¹ and she herself was shutting herself up in the palace, to the peril of her health and life. That the realm would tolerate the marriage he said that he did not believe ; he was therefore determined to retire into the country, although he supposed they would send him to the Tower before they would let him go.

‘He implored me for the love of God to remonstrate with the Queen ; to persuade her not utterly to throw herself away as she was doing, and to remember what she owed to herself and to her subjects. Of Lord Robert he twice said he would be better in Paradise than here.

‘I could only reply that I was most deeply grieved ; I said he must be well aware how anxious I had always

Relations
between
the Queen
and Lord
Robert
Dudley.

¹ ‘Y que el veia la perdicion de la Reyna manifesta causada desta privança de Milor Roberto, el qual se ha hecho señor de los negocios y de la

persona de la Reyna con estrema injuria de todo el Reyno, destinando casarse con ella.’

been for the Queen's well-doing. I had laboured as the King my master had directed me, to persuade her to live quietly and to marry—with how little effect he himself could tell. I would try again however as soon as I had an opportunity.

‘He told me the Queen cared nothing for foreign princes; she did not believe that she stood in any need of their support. She was deeply in debt taking no thought how to clear herself, and she had ruined her credit in the City.’¹

‘Last of all he said that they were thinking of destroying Lord Robert's wife. They had given out that she was ill; but she was not ill at all; she was very well, and was taking care not to be poisoned; God he trusted would never permit such a crime to be accomplished or allow so wicked a conspiracy to prosper.’²

‘This business of the Secretary cannot but produce some great results; for it is terrible. Many men I believe are as displeased as he, especially the Duke of Norfolk, whom he named to me as one of those most injured by Lord Robert, and most hostile to him.

‘The day after this conversation the Queen on her return from hunting told me that Lord Robert's wife was dead or nearly so, and begged me to say nothing about it. Assuredly it is a matter full of shame and infamy; but for all this I do not feel sure that she will immediately marry him, or indeed that she will marry

Death of
Amy
Robsart.

¹ Again this letter receives an accidental confirmation from another source. For some reason, the London merchants, in this month of September, refused a request of Elizabeth to them to pay 60,000*l.* which was due at Antwerp.—*Flanders MSS. Sept. 1560. Rolls House.*

² ‘Por ultimo me dixó que pensaban hacer morir á su mujer de Roberto y que ahora publicamente estaba mala, pero que no estaba sino muy buena, y se guardaba muy bien de ser avenenada, y que nunca Dios permitiria tan gran maldad, ni podria tener buen suceso tan mal negocio.’

CHAP IV at all. She wants resolution to take any decided step ;
 1560 and as Cecil says she wishes to act like her father.
 September

Symptoms
 of an ap-
 proaching
 crisis.

‘These quarrels among themselves and Cecil’s retirement from office will do no harm to the good cause. We could not have to do with any one worse than he has been ; but likely enough a revolution may come of it. The Queen may be sent to the Tower, and they may make a king of Lord Huntingdon who is a great heretic, calling in a party in France to help them, because they know that when they aim at injuring religion they have nothing to hope for from his Majesty. I have my suspicions on both these points. It is quite certain that the heretics wish to have Huntingdon made king. Cecil himself told me that he was the true heir to the crown ; Henry the Seventh having usurped it from the House of York. That they may have recourse to the French I dread, from the close intimacy which has grown up between Cecil and the Bishop of Valencé. It may be that I am over-suspicious ; but with such people it is always prudent to believe the worst. Certain it is they say openly that they will not have a woman over them any more ; and this one is likely to go to sleep in the palace, and to wake with her lover in the Tower. The French too are not asleep. Even Cecil says *Non dormit Judas*. We can be sure of nothing except of revolution and change. If I made up to them they would trust me and tell me all ; but I have no orders what to do, and until I receive instructions I shall listen to both sides and temporize. Your Highness will be pleased to give me directions. I show the Catholics all the attention in my power ; and they are not so broken but what if his Majesty will give the word they will resist the machinations of the rest. It is important that his Majesty should know that there is no hope of improvement in the

Queen: she will be his enemy and her own to the last, as I have always told him.

‘Since this was written the death of Lord Robert’s wife has been given out publicly. The Queen said in Italian—“Que si ha rotto il collo.” It seems that she fell down a staircase.’¹

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Many difficulties present themselves on reading this letter. It seems so unlikely that the cautious Cecil, if possessed of such deadly secrets, should have chosen the Spanish ambassador as the depository of them, that de Quadra might be imagined rather to have invented the story for the Duchess of Parma’s amusement, or Cecil to have been playing upon the bishop’s credulity. Yet the ambassador can hardly be supposed in a matter which touched the interests of the Spanish Government so nearly, to have imposed upon the Regent of the Netherlands with an idle falsehood; while, although it is most strange that despondency should have carried Cecil so far, yet the substance of the bishop’s communication falls in but too closely with what is known from other quarters of Cecil’s state of mind; and it is impossible to believe that in mere practice or diplomatic trickery he would have compromised the Queen’s honour.

Well might Randolph say that he had never felt grief like that which Cecil’s letter gave him, if this was the mystery which it contained.

But to leave conjecture.

It has been seen that for fifteen months Lord Robert Dudley had been spoken of as the probable husband of the Queen. To him alone she had shown signs of personal attachment. That he had a wife already had not

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SeptemberLord Robert
and his
wife.

been held an insuperable objection; and the expectations had been general that Lady Dudley would be disposed of by poison or divorce.¹

Eleven years before when a boy of nineteen Dudley had married the daughter of Sir John Robsart. The ceremony was performed at the court, and is mentioned by Edward in his diary;² but it was a love match, and had not been a happy one.³

Lady Dudley appeared at no time in public with her husband, either in the eclipse or in the sunshine of his fortunes. From the date of Elizabeth's accession certainly, if not from an earlier period, she was living childless and alone at Cumnor Hall three miles from Oxford, a clog on his ambition, an obstacle to the hopes which the Queen's marked favour encouraged him to entertain.

If either by Dudley himself or by dependants who hoped to benefit by his promotion, her murder was really contemplated, the pressure of the Arran marriage was an inducement to be quick about it. Certain it is, that on the 8th of September, at the time or within a day of the time when Cecil told the Spanish ambassa-

¹ It must be particularly observed that these expectations were not inventions subsequent to Lady Dudley's death, but are proved to have existed anterior to it. The story told by Parsons the Jesuit, in *Leicester's Commonwealth* copied by Ashmole in his *Antiquities of Berkshire* and preserved by local tradition, is known to every one through Scott's novel. The charity of later years has inclined to believe that it was a calumny invented by the Jesuits against Leicester, whom they hated as the leader of the Puritans; and as it was not published till a quarter of

a century after the crime—if crime there was—had been committed, it will not be relied upon in this place for evidence. The reader will judge for himself how far Parsons deserves credit.

² Diary of Edward VI., June 4, 1549.—BURNET'S *Collectanea*.

³ 'Nuptiæ carnales in lætitiâ incipiunt in luctu terminantur,' was the remarkable reference of Cecil to Dudley's first marriage, in a sarcastic paper on his qualifications to be the Queen's husband. In 1566, when the Archduke Carlos was again a candidate for Elizabeth's hand, and Dudley was again the

dor that there was a plot to kill her, Amy Dudley was found dead at the foot of a staircase.

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Lord Robert was at Windsor.¹ It appears that before he was made aware that his wife was dead, he had heard

difficulty, Cecil, *more suo*, sketched considered, and of the merits of the a table of the necessary points to be two suitors

TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE MARRIAGE.

Convenient Person.	CAROLUS.	EARL OF LEICESTER.
In birth. . . .	Nephew and brother of an Emperor.	Born son of a Knight, his grandfather but a Squire.
In degree . . .	An Archduke born . . .	An Earl made.
In age	Of — and never married .	Meet.
In beauty and constitution.	To be judged of	Meet.
In wealth . . .	By report 3000 ducats by the year.	All of the Queen, and in debt.
In friendship . .	The Emperor, the King of Spain, the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, Cleves, Florence, Ferrara, and Mantua.	None but such as shall have of the Queen.
In education . .	Amongst Princes always .	In England.
In knowledge . .	All qualities belonging to a Prince—languages, wars, hunting, and riding.	Meet for a courtier.
In likelihood to bear children.	His father, Ferdinando, hath therein been blessed with multitude of children. His brother, Maximilian, hath plenty. His sisters of Bavaria, Cleves, Mantua, and Poland, have already many children.	'Nuptiæ steriles.' No brother had children, and yet their wives have—Duchess of Norfolk. Himself married, and no children.
In likelihood to love his wife.	His father Ferdinando, <i>ut suprà</i> .	Nuptiæ carnales a lætitiâ incipiunt et in luctu terminantur.
In reputation . .	Honoured of all men . .	Hated of many. His wife's death.

Notes in Cecil's hand.—*Hatfield MSS.*

¹ In accepting the correspondence between Dudley and Sir Thomas Blount, as giving a true account of the inquest, it is right that I should say what these letters are. •

They are preserved in a volume of the *Pepys MSS.*, at Cambridge. They are not originals, but they are copies, all written in the same hand, and written out for Sir Thomas Blount himself, since they are signed by him alternately 'T. B.' and 'R. D.' In one instance, in the haste of signature Blount subscribed one of Dudley's letters, by mistake, with his own initials, and wrote the 'R. D.' over them. There being no pains whatever taken to vary the handwriting of the letters themselves, or to imitate Dudley's real signature, it is obvious that they

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Inquest at
Cumnor.

something which had alarmed him; for his cousin Sir Thomas Blount had left him before the news arrived to go down to Cumnor. A husband on receiving news of the sudden and violent death of a lady in whom he had so near an interest, might have been expected to have at least gone in person to the spot. Lord Robert however contented himself with sending a letter after Blount, desiring that the strictest inquiry should be made into the circumstances; that an inquest should be held immediately, and 'the discreetest and most substantial men should be chosen for the jury.' He prayed his cousin, as he 'loved

could not have been intended as counterfeits; but there are circumstances connected with the production of them which suggest one or two questions.

In the same volume, and apparently forming part of the same set of papers, is an indistinct and mutilated letter from Blount to Leicester, written, it would seem, in 1566—at any rate, after Dudley was made Earl,—from which it appears that the question of Amy Robsart's death had been secretly revived by the Council in connexion with the appearance of fresh symptoms of a desire in Elizabeth to make Leicester her husband. Blount had been sent for by the Council to be cross-questioned. He was very sorry, he said, that he had not been able to speak with Leicester before he encountered his examination. It appeared that more than one of Amy Robsart's relations had been raising questions about her death; that they were secretly supported by several noblemen; that one of them John Appleyard, her half-brother, had been offered a thousand pounds if he would come forward and give evidence; and that Leicester in an

interview with Appleyard, had been so angry that Blount thought he would have run him through the body.

The inquiry was so secret that except from this fragment, we know nothing of it. It is but a conjecture, but it is not an unlikely one, that the correspondence between Blount and Dudley was produced by the former in the course of the investigation, as evidence in Leicester's favour. But in that case, and in any case, it remains to ask why he produced copies of the letters if he was in possession of the originals, unless there was something in the originals which he was unwilling to show? How, if the originals were destroyed, was he able to bring forward those exact copies? or if we suppose him to have kept copies of his own letters at the time when they were written, why did he not keep the originals of those which he received from Dudley? These questions may admit of very simple answers, but they are sufficient to throw a shade of uncertainty over their value as witnesses in Dudley's defence. They are printed in PERTIGREW'S *Enquiry into the Death of Amy Robsart*.

him and tendered his quietness, to use all devices and means for learning of the truth without respect to living person ; especially he begged Blount himself not to 'dissemble,' but to tell him faithfully and truly 'whether it happened by evil chance or villany.'

If this letter was really written by Dudley, and if it was not written to be seen by others, which there is no reason to believe, it is inconsistent with a consciousness of guilt in himself. Lord Robert affected no sorrow for his wife's death, but expressed the utmost alarm for 'the talk which the wicked world would use ;' he suspected, to say the least, that there might have been a murder—of course in his own interest, for no other motive is imaginable—and he desired an inquiry as the only means to clear his own reputation. A postscript added that he had sent for his wife's half-brother, John Appleyard, with others of her friends, to be present at the inquest.¹

Blount replied on the 11th from Cumnor. He said that the coroner before his arrival, had already called a jury, 'as wise and able men being but countrymen, as ever he saw.' The cause of the death, so far as had then appeared, was lost in mystery. The servants were all absent when it happened, at Abingdon Fair, where they had been sent according to their own story by Lady Dudley herself. They had gone in the morning—they returned to find their mistress dead. She had been in bad spirits ; 'she had been heard many times to pray God to deliver her from desperation ;' and there were other stories which showed she had been in 'a strange mind.' Blount suggested to one of her attendants that she had perhaps destroyed herself. But he was told she 'was a good and virtuous gentlewoman,' unlikely to

¹ Lord Robert Dudley to Thomas Blount, September 9, from Windsor.—
PETTIGREW.

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have taken any step of that kind; and the desperation, if it was true that she expected poison, could easily be explained.

On the 13th Blount wrote again to say that the jury were very active; 'whether equity was the cause or malice against Foster,¹ he knew not.' They were very 'secret,' yet he could not hear that they had found 'any presumption of evil,' although he believed some of them 'would be sorry if they failed.'¹ For himself, his own opinion was 'much quieted;' he could learn 'almost nothing to make him think that any man should be the doer of it.'²

A letter undated, but probably next in time, follows from Dudley to Blount, saying that the foreman of the jury had written to him—that although the inquiry was not yet over, for anything they could learn 'it was a very misfortune.' Dudley said that he was much relieved; but for better security, after the first jury had given their verdict, he wished that there might be a second, and the investigation be pursued further. He had desired another of the Blounts—Sir Richard—a 'perfect honest gentleman,' to be present; and he understood that Appleyard was there also, as well as Arthur Robsart Lady Dudley's own brother.³

If Dudley was dissatisfied with the inquiry, it became more than ever his duty to hasten in person to the spot; yet his conduct was not that of a person who had a crime on his own conscience. He knew that the world would believe him guilty, and he had the most serious misgivings that his wife had really been murdered; yet for his own sake he seemed to wish that there should be a

¹ Antony Foster, the owner of Cumnor Hall.

² Blount to Dudley, September 13.—PETTIGREW, p. 30.

³ Dudley to Blount.—*Ibid.*

searching examination; and in sending her brother, he appeared to be giving the best security for fair play.

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There was something in the conduct of the proceedings¹ which was not satisfactory, and whether the inquest had been adequate or not, the people in the neighbourhood did not think so. On the 17th of September, Lever the preacher wrote from Coventry to Cecil, that 'the country was full of dangerous suspicion and muttering,' and he entreated that there might be an 'earnest searching and trying of the truth, with punishment if any were found guilty;' if the matter was hushed up or passed over, 'the displeasure of God, the dishonour of the Queen, and the danger of the whole realm was to be feared.'²

In deference to the general outcry, either the inquiry was protracted, or a second jury, as Dudley suggested, was chosen.² Lord Robert himself was profoundly anxious, although his anxiety may have been as much for his own reputation as for the discovery of the truth. Yet the exertions to unravel the mystery still failed of their effect. No one could be found who had seen Lady Dudley fall, and she was dead when she was discovered. Eventually, after an investigation apparently without precedent for the strictness with which it had been conducted, the jury returned a verdict of accidental death; and Lord Robert was thus formally acquitted. Yet the conclusion was evidently of a kind which would not silence suspicion; it was not proved¹ that Lady Dudley had been murdered; but the cause of

¹ Lever to Sir F. Knollys and Cecil, Sept. 17.—*BURLEIGH Papers*, vol. i. Yet you do well satisfy me with the discreet jury you say are chosen already.

² On the 27th of September, Dudley wrote again to Blount—'Until I hear from you how the matter falleth out, in very truth I cannot be quiet. The same jury which was sitting sixteen days before, and with whose foreman Dudley had been in correspondence.'

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the death was still left to conjecture ; and were there nothing more—were Cecil's words to 'de Quadra proved to be a forgery—a cloud would still rest over Dudley's fame. Cecil might well have written of him, as he did in later years, that he 'was infamed by his wife's death ;'¹ and the shadow which hung over his name in the popular belief, would be intelligible even if it was undeserved.²

A paper remains however among Cecil's MSS. which proves that Dudley was less zealous for inquiry than he seemed ; that his unhappy wife was indeed murdered ; and that with proper exertion the guilty persons might have been discovered. That there should be a universal impression that a particular person was about to be made away with, that this person should die in a mysterious violent manner, and yet that there should have been no foul play after all, would have been a combination of coincidences which would not easily find credence in a well-constituted court of justice.

The strongest point in Dudley's favour was that he sent his wife's half-brother John Appleyard, to the inquest. Appleyard some years after in a fit of irritation, 'let fall words of anger, and said that for Dudley's sake he had covered the murder of his sister.'³ Being examined by Cecil, he admitted that the investigation at Cumnor had after all been inadequately conducted. He said 'that he had oftentimes moved the Lord Robert to give him leave, and to countenance him in the prose-

¹ BURLING Papers, vol. i.

² 'Down stairs

Tumble—tumble headlong ; so
The surest way to chain a woman's tongue
Is break her neck : a politician did it.'

—*Yorkshire Tragedy*, quoted by PETTIGREW.

³ Note of the examination of John Appleyard, in Cecil's hand.—HATFIELD MSS.

cuting of the trial of the murder of his sister—adding that he did take the Lord Robert to be innocent thereof; but yet he thought it an easy matter to find out the offenders—affirming thereunto, and showing certain circumstances which moved him to think surely that she was murdered—whereunto he said that the Lord Robert always assured him that he thought it was not fit to deal any further in the matter, considering that by order of law it was already found otherwise, and that it was so presented by a jury. Nevertheless the said Appleyard in his speech said upon examination, that the jury had not as yet given up their verdict.”¹

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Declaration
of Appleyard.

If Appleyard spoke the truth, there is no more to be said. The conclusion seems inevitable, that although Dudley was innocent of a direct participation in the crime, the unhappy lady was sacrificed to his ambition. She was murdered by persons who hoped to profit by his elevation to the throne; and Dudley himself—aware that if the murder could be proved, public feeling would forbid his marriage with the Queen—used private means, notwithstanding his affectation of sincerity, to prevent the search from being pressed inconveniently far.

But seven years had passed before Appleyard spoke, while the world in the interval was silenced by the verdict: and those who wished to be convinced perhaps believed Dudley innocent. It is necessary to remember this to understand the conduct of Cecil.

When first he spoke to de Quadra, his dismay at the prospect had perhaps led him to believe more than was true, and he must have supposed the case to be desperate.

¹ Note of the examination of John Appleyard, in Cecil's hand.—HARFIELD MSS.

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What followed is full of obscurity.¹ That the Queen would attempt to marry Dudley now that he was free was the immediate and universal expectation. The London preachers who had set their hearts on her taking Arran, burst into a scream of indignation. The Dudleys were detested by the greater part of the nobility, and it was supposed that Arundel, Norfolk, Pembroke, and others, would forcibly interfere.²

The Bishop of Aquila reported that there were anxious meetings of the Council; the courtiers paid a partial homage to Dudley; while Cecil and the Protestants, in imminent dread of convulsion, thought of pressing the Queen to declare Huntingdon her successor. Then again there was a compromise. Huntingdon, though no friend of Dudley's, was his brother-in-law, and the verdict at Cumnor seemed to bear him clear of crime. It was rumoured—seemingly on Lord Robert's own authority—that some private but formal betrothal had passed between the Queen and himself. Cecil, either in appearance

¹ De Quadra's letters for the six weeks which followed the murder are lost. There remain only at Simancas, abstracts of their contents, which tell the story most imperfectly. On my first perusal of them, I sent a hasty paper from Spain to *Fraser's Magazine*, in which there are several mistakes, which I take this opportunity of acknowledging. I have no excuse to offer, except that the paper was written in the first excitement of what appeared to me an important discovery. From the essential part of what I then wrote I have nothing to retract; but I admit fully that I misread the notes which refer to what took place at the Council, after Amy Robsart's murder. They consist of a series of unconnected propositions, loosely strung

together, and to make mistakes in hurriedly reading a foreign language in manuscript, is not difficult. I subsequently took careful copies of these and all the MSS. from which I quote in this history.

² The saying of Arthur Gunter to George Cotton, that 'Ere this my Lord Robert's wife is dead, and she broke her neck. It is in a number of heads that the Queen will marry him. If she do you shall see a grand stir, for my Lord Arundel is sure of the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Rich, with divers others, to be ready with the putting up of his finger; and then shall you see the "White Horse" (the badge of the Arundels) bestir him, for my Lord is of great power.'—*September, 1560. Hatfield MSS.*

or in reality, consented to be reconciled to him;¹ and the reconciliation was in some way connected with the plan for the recognition of Huntingdon as heir presumptive.²

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In the midst of the confusion, Lady Dudley was splendidly buried at St. Mary's, at Oxford—the gorgeousness of the ceremonial was intended to drown suspicion. Some members of the Council gave the sanction of their presence.³ For the rest, amidst imperfect reports themselves half composed of rumour, it is certain only that throughout September there was the utmost excitement and uncertainty. At last, in the beginning of October, the Queen told Cecil 'that she had made up her mind, and did not intend to marry the Lord Robert.'⁴

Hesitation of Elizabeth.

¹ This was certainly true. Cecil had perhaps discovered that things were not so bad as he had feared—he may really after the verdict have thought Dudley innocent of the murder; at any rate he visited him, and they parted apparently friends, as the following letter among the *HATFIELD MSS.* proves—

LORD ROBERT DUDLEY TO CECIL.
(Endorsed in Cecil's hand.) *Sept. 1560.*

'SIR,—I thank you for your being here, and the great friendship which you have shown towards me I shall not forget. I am very loath to wish you here again, but I would be very glad to be with you there. I pray you let me hear from you what you think best for me to do. If you doubt, I pray you ask the question, for the sooner you can advise me thither the more I shall thank you. I am sorry so sudden a chance should breed me so great a change; for methinks I am here all this while as it were in a dream, and too far—too far from the place where I am bound to be; when methinks also this long

idle time cannot excuse me from the duty I have to discharge elsewhere. I pray you help him that seems to be at liberty out of so great bondage. Forget me not though you see me not, and I will remember you and fail ye not; and so wish you well to do. In haste this morning.

'R. DUDLEY.

'I beseech you sir forget not to offer up the humble sacrifice you promised me.'

² 'Que el designo de Cecil y de aquellos hereges de encaminar el Reyno al Conde de Huntingdon es certissimo porque al fin Cecil se ha rendido á Milord Roberto' el qual dice que se haya casado con la Reyna en presencia de su hermano y de dos mugeres de su camara.—*Abstract of DE QUADRA'S Letters. MS. Simancas.*

³ Ibid.

⁴ So Cecil himself, told de Quadra, —'El obispo dice que le habia dicho Cecil que la Reyna estaba resuelta en no se casar con Milord Roberto, segun que de la misma lo habia entendido.' —*Note of a letter from de Quadra to Philip, October 13.*

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But the next hour, or the next moment, she might again change her mind. The only real security was in another marriage, and to this Cecil addressed himself with all his energy. The people were in no humour to be trifled with, and insisted that they must have something to look to in case of her death. There was a fear that Philip might take up Lady Catherine Grey again, with an Austrian prince for a husband.¹ Lady Margaret and the Earl of Lennox proposed to de Quadra to withdraw to Flanders, and place themselves at the disposal of Philip. The Huntingdon affair was probably found impossible; and the nation was justly impatient at what appeared to them Elizabeth's culpable trifling.

General
anxiety to
see
Elizabeth
married.

There were many suitors. The Scotch ambassadors were on their way; the King of Sweden was looked for daily in person; the Duke of Holstein was said to be coming, and there was a talk of the Duke de Nemours. Cecil's preference—if Arran was impossible—was for the Archduke Charles. The Queen herself, notwithstanding her declaration to the contrary, would marry, if she might marry the person she cared for; and her unfortunate passion placed her truest friends in the position of requiring her to take a husband, and yet of refusing her the only man on whom her fancy had fastened itself.

Dudley too had his friends at the court—the ladies chiefly or the mean intriguing eunuch race of the officers of the household; and even among the peers some one or two. Lord Sussex, to whom Cecil wrote for an opinion, viewed the question practically, and on physical grounds was inclined to let the Queen have her way. The Austrian alliance had its advantages; the union

¹ 'Temen que muriendo la Reyna V. M^a. meteria aquel reyno en su casa por via de Miladi Caterina.'—*Note of a letter from de Quadra to Philip.*

of Scotland and England would no doubt be of great political importance; but England's true and best security would be in the prince which 'God should give her Majesty of her body.' And, therefore, Sussex said—

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'I wish not her Majesty to linger this matter of so great importance, but to choose speedily, and therein to follow so much her own affection as by the looking upon him whom she should choose, *omnes ejus sensus titillarentur*, which shall be the readiest way with the help of God to bring us a blessed prince which shall redeem us out of thralldom.

Opinion of
Lord
Sussex.

'If I knew that England had other rightful inheritors, I would then advise otherwise, and seek to serve the time by a husband's choice. But—seeing she is *ultimum refugium*, and that no riches, friendship, foreign alliance, or any other present commodity that might come by a husband, can serve our turn without issue of her body—if the Queen will love anybody; let her love where and whom she list, so much thirst I to see her love; and whomsoever she shall love and choose, him will I love, honour, and serve to the uttermost.'

Love for Dudley Elizabeth probably did not feel; a strong fancy rather, which contradiction made more violent, and from which she turned away herself whenever those around her seemed disposed to yield. She proposed to make the favourite a peer, and the patent was drawn out; but when it was brought to her to sign she cut it in pieces with a penknife,² saying that 'the Dudleys had been traitors through three descents.' A

¹ Sussex to Cecil, October 24, 1560.
—*Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

² 'The Queen's Majesty stayeth the creation. The bills were drawn for the purpose; when they were presented, she, with a knife, cut them asunder.'—*Jones to Throgmorton, Nov. 30. HARDWICK Papers, vol. i.*

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OctoberElizabeth
and Lord
Robert.

lovers' quarrel followed. The lady half-relented. 'Robin was clapped on the cheeks with No, 'no, the bear and the ragged staff is not so soon overthrown;' and they 'were as great as ever they were.' But when the courtiers said, marry him then, the Queen would 'pup with her lips: she would not marry a subject.' 'Men would come and ask for my Lord's grace;' and when they said, 'She might make him a King,' 'that she would in no wise agree to.'

Meanwhile the political clouds were gathering again. The treaty of Edinburgh was but a half-victory; the doubtful attitude of Philip and the conspiracy of Amboise had checked the enterprises of the Guises; but the Bishop of Valence and de Randan had not concealed their contempt for Elizabeth's pretensions to a right of interference in Scotland. The Duke of Guise had used his time well, and for the moment seemed to have trampled out the conflagration in France. The King of Navarre and Condé were thrown into prison; their followers were hunted down, hanged, shot, broken on the wheel, torn in pieces by horses; and the Catholics were watching their opportunity to renew the struggle with England.² 'If,' wrote Throgmorton on the 8th of September to Cecil, 'her Majesty do not provide to keep that which she has now obtained beyond the expectation of all men, it had been better to have stood in the mercy of your enemy.'³

The French Government said openly that the commissioners had exceeded their powers, and that they would never acknowledge that Elizabeth possessed rights over

¹ Sir Henry Neville to Throgmorton.—CONWAY MSS.

² 'Relacion de las cartas del obispo de Aquila al Rey, de 25 Julio y 3 Agosto, 1560.

³ CONWAY MSS. *Rolls House*.

the French Queen's subjects. Alva assured Sir Thomas Chamberlain that but for Philip a second French army would have been in Scotland before the end of the summer. The galleys were coming round from Marseilles; the dockyards at Havre and Brest were in full activity; and Mary Stuart proposed to lead in person the next expedition which should sail.¹ 'What thinketh your Queen?' Alva said. 'Hath the French King no party in England? Yea, I assure you, he hath a great party there; and, I fear me, I may say as great as the Queen, or greater. Should he land 10,000 or 12,000 men at Dover or the Isle of Wight it will be a shrewd piece of work, and be found more difficult to remedy than all men would think.' The Guises pored daily over plans of the English harbours; they were again in communication with the Pope; and at Rome it was said openly that the articles concluded at Edinburgh were not, would not and should not be ratified; the Pope would assist the French with 5000 men, at his own expense.² At the first mention of ratification at Paris, Throgmorton was told plainly 'that the English treaty was part of the Scotch treaty; that a treaty made by subjects without consent of their sovereign was void; and that the English treaty was therefore void;' sooner than permit the league between England and Scotland to continue the King of France would 'quit all;' and as for the arms and style, they belonged of right to the French Queen, and she would not abandon them.³

Menace of a
French
invasion.

If Elizabeth would neither marry the Archduke nor

¹ 'Advertisement from beyond Venice, October 30, 1560.—*Venetian seas.*—*Domestic MSS. Rolls House.* *MSS. Rolls House.*

Sir Thomas Chamberlain to Elizabeth.—*Spanish MSS. Ibid.* ³ Throgmorton to Chamberlain, November 21, 1560.—*WRIGHT'S*

² John Sheres to Cecil; from *Elizabeth*, vol. i.

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November

admit the Papal nuncio, sooner or later the King of Spain would be against her; if she refused Arran it was likely that the Scots would turn against her. The rumour that she would marry neither of them, and that she intended instead to take Lord Robert Dudley, was caught at in the Court of Paris with passionate delight. In Paris there were no uncertainties how Amy Robsart met her end. Mary Stuart's wit gave expression to the popular feeling. The Queen of England, she said, was about to marry her horsekeeper, who had killed his wife to make a place for her; and Throgmorton could only console himself with believing that the report was a calumny, and that while Cecil was in power so wild a step was impossible. Were it true, he could see nothing but instant ruin, and could but exclaim—

'Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.'

So he wrote to Cecil, and Cecil's answer was little reassuring. Elizabeth had contemplated a marriage with Dudley, perhaps was contemplating it still; and living in the focus of the European conspiracies against her, Throgmorton read too plainly in the exultation of her enemies the frightful danger in which she would involve herself. He at least refused to credit the Cumnor inquest. 'He knew not,' he wrote, 'what countenance to bear, the bruits were so brim of the marriage of the Lord Robert and the death of his wife.' 'He would rather,' he said, 'perish with honesty than live with shame,' and he flung into his remonstrance the whole energy that he possessed.

'If, Mr. Cecil,' he wrote, 'you think I have any small

¹ Dudley was Master of the Horse.

² Throgmorton to Cecil, October 20.—CONWAY MSS. Rolls House.

skill or judgment in things at home, or can conjecture sequels, I do assure you, the matter succeeding, our state is in great danger of utter destruction; and so far, methinks, I already see into the matter, as I wish myself already dead because I would not live unto that day.

'If the matter be not already determined, I require you, as you bear a true and faithful heart to her Majesty and the realm, and desire to keep them from utter desolation, in *visceribus Jesu Christi* I conjure you to do all your endeavour to hinder that marriage. We begin to be in derision already for the bruit only; if it take place we shall be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*. God and religion shall be out of estimation; the Queen our sovereign discredited, contemned and neglected; our country ruined, undone and made prey. With tears and sighs, as one being already almost confounded, I beseech you again and again to set to your wits and all your help to stay the Commonwealth, which lieth now in great hazard.¹

Sir N. Throgmorton protests against the Dudley marriage.

So desperate the situation seemed to Throgmorton that, not contented with writing to Cecil, he determined to address Elizabeth herself. First he proposed to send a letter to her, but remembering that he must write in cipher, and that his despatch would perhaps be deciphered by a second hand for the Queen's use, he sent his secretary with a verbal message, and a letter to Sir Thomas Parry, who was supposed to be the chief promoter of the Dudley marriage.

The secretary found Elizabeth at Greenwich, and was admitted to a private audience.

She asked why he had come over. He told her. She

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said, she thought as much, and he had better have stayed where he was.

‘But he was not to be daunted. He knew his mission was a perilous one, and determined to go through with it.

He spoke of the antecedents of Lord Robert’s family : of his infamous grandfather, his more infamous father Northumberland, and of the hatred felt for the race by the nobility.

‘Her Majesty,’ said the secretary in his report to Throgmorton, ‘laughed and turned herself to one side and the other, and set her hand upon her face.’

The murder came next.

She said that ‘the matter had been tried in the country, and found to the contrary of that was reported.’ Lord Robert was at the court, and ‘none of his [servants] at the attempt at his wife’s honour,’¹ and that ‘it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour.’

But the Queen listened patiently to remonstrance; she was not displeased; and promised to tell no one what Throgmorton ventured to do. She looked ill and harassed. ‘Surely,’ the secretary said, ‘the matter of the Lord Robert doth much perplex her, and it is never like to take place, as generally disliked but of the setters forth thereof.’²

Sir Thomas Parry, when he read what Sir Nicholas had written to himself, was not ‘over-courteous,’ but ‘was half-ashamed of his doings.’ The very report and expectation had deranged the whole country. ‘Religion was neglected; all were discontented; no man con-

¹ This expression admits that there had been an attempt of some kind, and by some one.

² Jones to Throgmorton, Nov. 30.—*HARDWICK Papers*, vol. i.

sidered.' 'The very captains' in the army were selling 'their harness.' 'Every man was for himself.' The secretary hoped 'Lord Robert's matter would not go forward; yet the favour was great which was shown him at the Queen's hands.'

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Meanwhile the Arran petition had at length arrived, brought by the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, and by Maitland, who, as he could not prevent it, thought better to accompany the presentation.

The Scottish Commissioners arrive in London.

In the Protestant part of the English Council the standing reasons which recommended the connexion were enhanced by the desire to save Elizabeth from Dudley. The apparent failure of the French Protestants, and the menacing attitude of the Guises, made the league with Scotland more necessary than ever, while the Scotch Commissioners did not conceal that if their request was refused, 'they would be constrained to save their necks, and win the French favour again.' They were entertained by Bedford and Pembroke with marked hospitality; and by these two, and by all their friends, the marriage was looked upon almost as 'a necessity.'

So strong was the feeling that Elizabeth durst not—perhaps she did not desire to—give a peremptory refusal. She delayed her answer, promising to take time to consider; and it is possible that public considerations might have outweighed after all her personal objections. There was a capacity in her for great self-sacrifice. Her weaknesses were wilful: she could shake them off at her pleasure. Conscious of her power over herself, she liked to dally with temptation; but she remained at all times mistress of her passions; and to steer the English nation in the midst of the breakers was a keener en-

¹ Jones to Throgmorton, November 30.—*HARDWICK Papers*, vol. i.

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joyment to her than to listen to the soft dalliance of a Robert Dudley.

But at the crisis an event happened in France which destroyed Arran's hopes, and delayed the union of the crowns for half-a-century.

Death of
Francis the
Second.

The French King and Queen were at Orleans holding a high court of justice on the heretics there. Condé was under sentence of death, and was about to be executed; the Calvinists all over the country were marked for massacre; when the keystone was struck suddenly from the arch which sustained the Guises' power. At eleven o'clock at night, on the 5th of December, Francis the Second, after a short illness, left the world. Mary Stuart was a childless widow; the Crown lapsed to the dead King's young brother Charles; and the government of the country fell, during the minority, to the Queen-mother and the princes of the blood. The King of Navarre and Condé passed from a prison to the steps of the throne.

At first all was uncertainty. The Duke of Guise was not expected to relinquish his power without a struggle. Mary Stuart, who had watched dutifully by the sick bed, was speculating before the body was cold on her next choice; and Throgmorton, writing on the 6th of December to Cecil, said with a side blow at Elizabeth, that 'so far as he could learn, she more esteemed the continuation of her honours, and to marry one that might uphold her to be great, than she passed to serve and please her fancy.'

But years, at all events, would have to elapse before the Guises would be in a position to renew their dream of conquest. It was more likely that they had fallen

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, December 6.—CONWAY MSS. *Rolls House.*

for ever, and that France would now follow England into a reformation, while Scotland was once more severed from the French crown. For the present the pressure was removed from Elizabeth, nor was the opportunity a fitting one to conspire against a widowed Queen.

She therefore dismissed the Scotch Commissioners with a reply which, though not precluding the possibility of hope, was in fact conclusive.

She was glad to find, the Queen said, that the Scots were not ungrateful for her kindness, and that her money had not been wholly thrown away. With respect to their proposal of the Earl of Arran, she did not doubt that it was well meant—that the Earl was all which they described him, and that they were offering her the choicest person that they possessed. She was, however, indisposed to marry. A time might come when circumstances might oblige her to do what willingly she would not do; but that time had not yet arrived; and she would not ask the Earl of Arran therefore to postpone any other connexion which might appear to him desirable. As to the alliance between the two countries, the Scots were most interested in its maintenance. She warned them not to be led away by sinister influences; if they would do their part, her own should not be wanting.¹

Elizabeth declines the Earl of Arran.

Elizabeth had scarcely calculated, perhaps, on the effect of her answer, although warned what it would be. 'What motive the Queen of England had in this refusal, we omit,' says Knox. 'There is such resentment of the rejection of the offer of marriage,' wrote Randolph, 'that the Scots hold themselves almost ab-

¹ KEITH, vol. ii. p. 9.

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DecemberResentment
of the Scots,

solved from all their obligations.' Arran himself, who had set his idle heart on being King of England, unable to obtain his wish in one way, sought it in another, and wrote to offer his hand to Mary Stuart—not, one is surprised to read, without Knox's knowledge and consent.¹ Maitland, on his return, wrote that he had himself done what he could 'to keep the people still, in some hope that the matter was not impossible;' but 'all men's minds were stirring;' they had not forgotten their obligations to England; but the Queen of Scots would now be the inevitable object of their first attachment; she would probably return to Scotland, and they would 'percase put themselves in her good graces.'² What Scotland would do, however—what England would do—what Elizabeth would do—depended on the effect of the King's death in France.

Parties in
France,

Three parties were left there, almost equal in resources and power: the ultra-Catholics under the Guises, supported by the Pope and Philip; the Calvinists under the King of Navarre, his brother, and the three Colignies; and between them the central Gallican or national party, represented by the Constable Montmorency, who had no sympathy with fanatics of either extreme—who were Catholics, but moderate and tolerant, and were disinclined to sacrifice the unity and greatness of France to the special interest of theology. The Queen-

¹ 'Since the King of France's death, Arran has written to the King of Navarre and the Constable, and, with Knox's knowledge and privity, designs, if possible, to marry with the Queen of Scots, supposing the Queen of England will not have him.' *Randolph to Cecil, January 3, 1561.* *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

Knox, himself, mentions Arran's proposal, saying nothing of his own share in it; but he adds a sentence or two after, that 'at that time he had great intelligence with some of the Court of France.'

² Maitland to Cecil, January 15.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

mother, Catherine de Medici—who in the late reign had seen the honour of the throne given to the Queen of Scots, and the power of the throne to the Duke of Guise and his brothers—had wrongs of her own to avenge; and, untroubled with special opinions, intended to play off party against party, and rule herself by their divisions. By the custom of France, the Regency would have fallen to Antony Bourbon, King of Navarre. Montmorency and the Calvinists equally pressed him to undertake it; but he was a poor creature, too small for the opportunity; Catherine de Medici persuaded him in private that the office would sit better upon herself; while, in return, the charge of treason against Condé was withdrawn, the prisons were emptied of the Huguenots; and, at a meeting of the States General, on the 13th of December, an edict was passed for general toleration. The Cardinal of Lorraine retired from Paris, taking Mary Stuart with him, after an ineffectual suggestion that she should be the young King's wife. Navarre became Lieutenant-General; and, for the time, the Catholic faction experienced in a violent reaction the common fate of a despotic party suddenly deposed from power.

The Huguenots recover the ascendancy.

Now was the time for Elizabeth to throw her weight into the scale. The impending General Council, with England, France, and Germany, united on the Reforming side, might be 'a free council,' which would give peace to Europe; England might recover Calais, and England's Queen be at the head of the Protestant world.

So thought Throgmorton; and he wrote earnestly to her to seize the occasion—and to seize it promptly. Time was everything. The English ambassador knew too intimately the essential strength of the Catholics in France, and the skill and popularity of the Guises, to

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doubt that the tide would soon turn again, especially if the Queen of Scots recovered the allegiance of her subjects, and won them back, as he feared she might, to Rome and orthodoxy.¹

Opportunity offered
to England.

Throgmorton had been one of those who had most desired the Arran marriage, which he believed would have closed for ever the political prospects of Mary Stuart. He understood the humour of the Scots, and the effect upon them of the affront which they would suppose themselves to have received. It would be forgotten if Elizabeth would take the position which he desired for her; but she must stand there in a character worthy of the cause; he was profoundly dejected at hearing that the danger having passed away, she was returning to her unhappy project of marrying Lord Robert.

How, in Throgmorton's opinion, such a step would affect her—and affect with her the prospects of Europe—will be seen in the following letter:

THROGMORTON TO CECIL.

December 31.

‘The house of Guise presently does seem here to bear small rule. The countenance and hope they have is of the King of Spain, who for religion and other respects, it is thought will help to stay their credit as much as he may.

‘The principal managing of the affairs doth seem to be chiefly in the hands of the Queen-mother, the King of Navarre, and the Constable; and, as the King of Spain will earnestly travail to suppress religion, so is it most

¹ Throgmorton to Elizabeth, December.—CONWAY MSS.

safe for her Majesty, and her best policy, to be as diligent to advance it.

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'I do well see you will do the wise and good offices that are necessary to be done, and that may be done. The true religion is very like to take place in France, and so consequently throughout all Europe where Christianity is received. I did of late address myself to the Admiral, who for his virtue and wisdom is much esteemed. I do find by him that if the Queen's Majesty will put to an earnest mind and hand to this matter, it will be here well accepted, and will work very good effect. We talked of many particularities. He thinks, that the general council cannot take place; but that the King must assemble a national council whereunto, if her Majesty would send some learned men, he does not doubt but all shall be well.

'But if her Majesty do so foully forget herself in her marriage as the bruit runneth here, never think to bring anything to pass either here or elsewhere. I would you did hear the lamentations, the declamations, and sundry affections, which have course here for that matter. Sir, do not forget yourself as to think you do enough because you do not further the matter. Remember your mistress is young and subject to affections; you are her sworn councillor and in great credit with her. You know there be some of your colleagues which have promoted the matter. There is nobody reputed of judgment and authority that doth to her Majesty disallow it, for such as be so wise as to mislike it be too timorous to show it; so, as her Majesty's affection doth rather find wind and sail to set it forward, than any advice to quench it.

Throgmorton proves himself a faithful servant.

'My duty to her, my good-will to you, doth thus move me to speak plainly.'

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The letter went on to speak of the general league among the Catholic powers, the object of which was to destroy the Reformation.

The projected
Catholic
league.

‘The parties,’ Throgmorton said, ‘which will have to do in the matter be these, and every one doth make his profit in the reckoning—the Emperor, the King of Spain, the King of Denmark, the King of Sweden, the Pope, the Queen of Scotland, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Austria, and the Duke of Guise. The matter is that the Duke of Austria shall marry the Queen of Scotland, the King of Denmark one of the Emperor’s daughters, the King of Sweden another. If this alliance be made, you can consider what may happen.

‘Sir,’ the letter concluded, ‘after I had written thus much, the ambassador of Spain came to visit me; who did, amongst other matters, earnestly require me to tell him whether the Queen’s Majesty was not secretly married to the Lord Robert; for, said he, I assure you this Court is full of it; and, whatever any man doth make your mistress to believe, assure yourself that there never was princess so overseen, if she do not give order in that matter betimes. The bruits of her doings, said he, be very strange in all courts and countries.

‘I have presently written a letter to the Lord Robert Dudley, the true copy whereof I have herewith sent you,¹ and also the copy of my letter to her Majesty² written of mine own hand; of both which I pray you take knowledge.’³

Throgmorton’s proceedings, however well intended, were not well calculated for the end he had in view; for

¹ Not found.

² Not found.

Throgmorton to Cecil, December 31.—CONWAY MSS.

Elizabeth was one of the many strong-willed people, on whom menaces and remonstrances operate only as a spur. Cecil was not so idle as his correspondent believed him; but he understood better the disposition with which he was dealing. His reply to Throgmorton's letter showed how dangerous his position was, and how difficult the course which he had nevertheless determined to follow. By 'practices,' by 'bye-ways,' as he afterwards described it, by affecting to humour what he was passionately anxious to prevent, he was holding his mistress under delicate control; and he dreaded lest his light leading-strings should be broken by a ruder touch.

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•CECIL TO THROGMORTON.

January 15.

'I have professed and do avow earnest friendship to you; and in respect thereof I must advise you not to meddle with the matters of this Court, otherwise than ye may be well advised from hence. What her Majesty will determine to do, only God I think knoweth; and in her His will be fulfilled. Writings remain and coming into adverse hands may be sinisterly interpreted on the other part; servants or messengers may be reporters to whom they list, and therefore I cannot safely give you so plain counsel as I wish; but, in one word I say contend not where victory cannot be had.'

Advice of
Cecil to
Throg-
morton.

But if Cecil shared Throgmorton's alarm, he did not expose his feelings a second time to de Quadra. The bishop reported at the end of January, that since the death of Francis, a close correspondence had passed

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between the secretary and the Huguenot leaders. If the King of Navarre remained in power, he foresaw the same consequences for which Throgmorton was so anxious: England and France would draw together; Calais would probably be restored; and he 'prayed God that nothing worse might follow, and that so evil a union might not produce basilisk's eggs.' He was afraid 'that Navarre and Montmorency would cast their eyes on the Low Countries,' which the English would assist them to seize, and thus limit the Catholic influence of Spain to the Peninsula.¹

But comfort came to de Quadra from a quarter from which he least expected it. In spite of Cecil's influence, and without his knowledge, Elizabeth, perhaps on the only occasion in her life, was really on the edge of an act of stupendous folly. The Spanish ambassador himself must tell his own story.

DE QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

London, January 22.

'There came lately to me Sir Henry Sidney, who is married to Lord Robert's sister, a high-spirited noble sort of person, and one of the best men that the Queen has about the Court.

'After speaking generally on ordinary matters he came to the affair of his brother-in-law, and the substance of his words to me was this:—The marriage was now in everybody's mouth, he said, and the Queen I must be aware was very anxious for it. He was surprised that I had not advised your Majesty to use the opportunity to gain Lord Robert's good-will. Your

Majesty would find Lord Robert as ready to obey you and do you service as one of your own vassals; with more to the same purpose.

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I replied that all which I had heard about the business was of such a character that I had not ventured to write two lines to your Majesty on the subject. Neither the Queen nor Lord Robert had spoken to me about it; and it was of no more importance to your Majesty to gain the good-will of English sovereigns than it was to them to gain your Majesty's. Your Majesty could not divine the Queen's wishes; and she had shown so little inclination to follow your advice when you had offered it hitherto, that you could not be expected to volunteer your opinion.

He admitted this. He is evidently well acquainted with what has passed, and he is not too prejudiced to see the truth. But he added that if I could be satisfied about Lady Dudley's death, he thought I could not object to informing your Majesty of what he had said. The Queen and Lord Robert were lovers; but they intended honest marriage, and nothing wrong had taken place between them which could not be set right with your Majesty's help.¹ As to Lady Dudley's death, he said that he had examined carefully into the circumstances, and he was satisfied that it had been accidental, although he admitted that others thought differently.

Sir Henry Sidney makes advances to the Spanish ambassador.

If this was true, I replied, things were not so bad as I had believed. Had Lady Dudley been murdered, God and man would surely have punished so abominable a crime. Lord Robert however would find it difficult to persuade the world of his innocence.

¹ 'Aunque eran amores, iban endereçados a casamiento, y no habia cosa ninguna illicita en tal que con la autoridad de V. M. no pudiese saldarse.'

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‘He allowed that there was hardly a person who did not believe that there had been foul play. The preachers, in their pulpits, spoke of it—not sparing even the honour of the Queen; and this, he said, had brought her to consider whether she could not restore order in the realm in these matters of religion. She was anxious to do it; and Lord Robert, to his own knowledge, would be ready to assist.

‘I answered that your Majesty would gladly see religion restored in England, as well as everywhere else; but it was not a thing to be mixed with concerns of the world. Whether married or wishing to be married, if the Queen was a Christian woman she would regard religion as between God and herself.

Sidney
undertakes
that the
Queen will
restore Ca-
tholicism.

‘He said that I spoke truly; but though ill-informed in such matters, he was satisfied that religion in this country was in a deplorable condition, and that it was imperatively necessary to take steps to reform it. He mentioned a multitude of things most distressing; and he assured me on his solemn oath, that the Queen and Lord Robert were determined to restore the religion,¹ by way of the General Council; and he then went on to press me to write to your Majesty to forward the affair, in such a form that Lord Robert should receive the prize at which he aims from your Majesty’s hands.²

‘I reminded him of what had passed between me and Lady Sidney in the affairs of the Archduke Carlos, and how the Queen had deceived both her and myself. I said, I could not write, unless I received instructions from the

¹ ‘La religion’—an expression which, as used to the Spanish ambassador, could only be intended to mean communion with the Pope.

² ‘Apretando mas por persuadirme

que yo quisiese escribir a V. M. y encaminar este negocio de manera que de mano de V. M. M. Roberto recibiese este bien.’

Queen herself. In that case it would become my duty, and I would do it with pleasure.

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‘He said the Queen could not begin the subject with me, but, I might assure myself, she waited for nothing but your Majesty’s consent to conclude the marriage.¹ In the mean time Lord Robert would speak with me, and would desire me to communicate to your Majesty what I should hear from him. He would offer your Majesty his services to the extent of his power in whatever your Majesty would be pleased to command; especially he would be ready to assist in restoring the religion, seeing clearly that it ought to be done, and that it was this which had separated England from your Majesty, and forfeited your protection.

‘I said again that religion ought not to be complicated with matters of this kind. If Lord Robert desired to communicate with your Majesty on the subject, I would make no difficulty; but I thought that his conscience should be motive sufficient, when the course to be taken was so plain. If he desired to obtain your Majesty’s good opinion, so much the more improper it seemed to me that he should stipulate for conditions.

‘He then asked whether I thought it would be well for the Queen to send a special minister to your Majesty, to satisfy you on the point where your Majesty might look for fuller explanation as to what you were to expect both from herself and from him. The ambassador resident in Spain was a confirmed heretic, and not a person therefore whom the Queen could trust in a matter which concerned religion.

—I said I would think it over, and I would tell Lord

¹ ‘Dixó me que hablarme la Reyna estar seguro que ella no esperaba ni en ello no lo haría, sino fuese comen- deseaba sino el consenso de V. M. cando yo la platica, pero que podía para concluirlo.’

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Robert, as soon as I had heard what he had to say. Sidney himself, I imagine, desires to go. He is a cousin of the Countess of Feria, and would like to see her.

'This was the end of our conversation, and I now wait till he brings Lord Robert to me. I have related to your Majesty exactly what passed between us. For some days I had suspected that the Queen had something of the sort in her head. It is so bad a business that I durst not meet their overtures with cordiality; while, nevertheless, I thought it right to listen to them, and report what they say to your Majesty. If we irritate them we may drive them into mischief. Your Majesty will consider the thing on all its sides, and resolve what shall be done.

'I do not doubt that, if there be a way by which the Queen can be brought to a better mind, either in religion or in her relations with your Majesty—so long, at least, as her present passion lasts—it will be by this marriage.

The Queen
and the
Dudley
marriage.

'Of this I am certain, that if she marry Lord Robert without your Majesty's sanction, your Majesty has but to give a hint to her subjects and she will lose her throne; I know how this matter really stands, and I know the humour of the people. But I am certain also that, without your Majesty's sanction, she will do nothing in public, and it may be that when she sees that she has nothing to hope from your Majesty she will make a worse plunge to satisfy her appetite. She is infatuated to a degree which would be a notable fault in any woman, much more in one of her exalted rank.'

¹ 'Podria ser que quando viesse esta tan vencida que en ninguna que no podia valerse del favor de condición de persona dexaria de ser V. M. se arrojassee á lo peor con que falta notable, quanto mas en una pudiese ejecutar su appetito del qual muger de su estado.'

‘Cecil who was the great obstacle has given in, being bribed by a promise of the offices vacated by Sir Thomas Parry, who died a few days ago of mere ill-humour. I ought to add that this woman is generally believed to be out of her mind; and it is thought too that she can never have a child. Some say she is a mother already, but this I do not believe.

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‘Something ought to be done to secure a successor on whom your Majesty may depend. Your Majesty will be pleased to tell me what to do. The thing is of moment, and they will press for their answer.’¹

De Quadra had occasion afterwards to lament that he had been unable to close with these strange advances at the moment when they were made. Spain was far off, and in the transit of the couriers to and fro, the iron grew cool. Cecil had not ‘given in,’ as the bishop supposed, and was as determined as ever to save his mistress, if she would allow herself to be saved. He had discovered the intrigue, and, with an affectation of acquiescence, worked himself into its management. ‘Howsoever the end is,’ he wrote afterwards to Throgmorton, ‘the way thereto was full of crooks. I found my Lord Marquis, my Lord Keeper, and my Lord Pembroke, in this matter my best pillars, and yet I was forced to seek byeways, so much was the contrary labour by prevention. The Bishop of Aquila had entered into such a practice to further the great matter, here meaning principally the Church matter, and percase accidentally the other also, that he had taken faster hold to plant his purpose than was my ease shortly to foot up.’²

Cecil uses
‘byeways.’

¹ De Quadra to Philip, January 22.—*MS. Simancas.*

² Cecil to Throgmorton.—*CONWAY MSS.*

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Cecil, like an honest Englishman, laid the blame anywhere rather than on his own countrymen. He was charging the bishop too hardly. A fair consideration of these letters, whatever attempts may be made to explain them away, leaves an impression, which the sequel will confirm, that Elizabeth's interest in the Reformation was eclipsed for an interval by her interest in Lord Robert Dudley. Stung by the reproaches of the Protestant preachers, which in her heart she knew to be deserved, she was tempted to forsake a cause to which, in its theological aspect, she was never devoted. If Philip would secure her the support of his friends in making a husband of the miserable son of the apostate Northumberland, she was half-ready to undo her work, and throw the weight of the Crown once more on the Catholic side.

Self-willed, self-confident, and utterly fearless, refusing to believe in her lover's infamy, and exasperated at the accusations which she might have wilfully considered undeserved, she could easily conceal from herself the nature of the act which she was contemplating; and the palace clique might have kept her blind to the true feeling of the country. The bishop's story has not the air of an invention; and it is incredible that Sir Henry Sidney could have ventured to make a communication of such a character, unless he had believed himself to have the Queen's sanction.

But the bishop learnt afterwards that Elizabeth had consented with extreme reluctance, and only at the passionate entreaties of Lord Robert, who had persuaded her that her life was in danger. Cecil's efforts then and always had been to divert her from the wrong course by forcing her to commit herself to another; and, before Sidney was allowed to speak to de Quadra, the league

with the Huguenot leaders, which Throgmorton had so earnestly advised and the Spanish ambassador had, so anxiously dreaded, was already under consideration. On the 19th of January, Cecil had written to urge Calvin to come boldly forward, 'to stir the liberal noblemen in France to suppress the tyranny of the Papists.' He had advised Navarre to put forward into places of trust 'those who in fearful times were busy with their pens and weapons.'¹ The Earl of Bedford had been appointed Special Commissioner to the French Court. His instructions were drawn in harmony with the broadest liberal policy, and were but waiting the Queen's signature, while she herself stood poised between two courses, on neither of which she could resolve. On the one side were freedom, truth, greatness, glory, and self-sacrifice; on the other, bondage to Spain, and the possession of the loved Lord Robert.

The nobler side would perhaps, at all events, have triumphed in the end. Whatever her struggles, her temptations, her vacillations, her inconsistencies, Elizabeth was ever true in the main to the rough path of greatness. But Cecil found an effective assistant in a quarter whence he could least have looked for it. Lord Paget, at home and abroad, had been an opponent of his past policy. The old and worldly-wise diplomatist had deprecated internal changes, and had been the steady advocate of the Spanish alliance. Like Maitland, he was essentially a secular statesman, and had little confidence in transcendental revolutions. His creed was probably

Lord Paget
assists Cecil.

¹ 'Such courage' he said, 'will abash the Papists, so well I know their cowardice; I mean specially of the shavelings.'—*Cecil to Throgmorton, January 19. CONWAY MSS.*

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of the broadest; he hated fanatics; he believed in good order, good government, and a good army, more than in whitewashed churches, or in doctrines of justification, however exemplary their exactness; and the course pursued by Cecil since Elizabeth's accession had been so different from what he would himself have advised, that he had withdrawn almost wholly from public life. Once only he had come forward—to protest against the Scottish war; but his opposition, like that of his friends, had been overruled.

When therefore at this moment he is found again in confidential communication with Elizabeth, it is likely that he had been sent for, to give the weight of his experience to the scheme which Sidney had opened to the Spanish ambassador.

Paget advises an alliance with the Huguenot leaders.

Invited or uninvited, at any rate, Paget, in the course of the crisis, was again in the Queen's closet; and the opinion which he gave exactly contradicted what was expected of him. It was one thing to advocate the Spanish alliance on open and avowed grounds of national policy—Lord Paget was too keen-sighted to believe, and too honest to affect to believe that Elizabeth could safely fall back upon it in connexion with a scandalous love affair. The unlooked-for success at Edinburgh, and the death of Francis the Second, had changed the aspect of Europe. The Reformers were now the legitimate directors of the French Government, with whom the Queen might honourably and safely connect herself; and at whose hands—far better than at Philip's—she might hope to recover the still passionately longed-for Calais; so that the Bishop of Aquila learnt, to his disgust, that when the Queen was apparently at the point of yielding to Lord Robert, Lord Paget had advised her to sanction

Bedford's mission, to make an alliance with the King of Navarre and the Calvinists, and to let Spain stand over till she could dictate her own terms.¹

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Winchester, Pembroke, and Bacon, were on the same side. Beyond the palace walls, had Dudley's scheme been heard of, he would have been torn in pieces by the populace. Bedford's commission was signed on the last of January, and he started the next day for Paris.

Mission of
the Earl of
Bedford.

Once more, as we read his instructions, we breathe the wholesome air of heaven, after the sinister and stifling vapours of de Quadra's cabinet. The Earl was directed to establish close and intimate relations with the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Colignies, to 'impeach' the intended general council, by which Lord Robert and the Queen were to have restored religion; and to prevent the marriage of the Queen of Scots with any foreign prince.

To the Queen of Scots herself he was charged with an autograph letter from Elizabeth, who believed, perhaps, that as she was still young, and was feeling keenly a sharp and sudden change of fortune, it might be possible to persuade her into cordiality.

Not, indeed, that the Queen of Scots had shown symptoms as yet of any desire to conciliate: on the one

¹ 'I have delayed so long to write again in the affair of Lord Robert because they have been long in making a second move in it; and because, so far as I can understand, the Queen will not place herself at your Majesty's disposal unless she is forced into it by Lord Robert's persuasions. He is well aware of the peril in which they stand. He sees clearly that, without your Majesty's help, they can scarcely hope to secure

themselves from an insurrection in the realm, or to repress it should it break out. The Queen, I believe, would have done what Lord Robert presses her to do, had not Paget interfered, who, knowing her humour, has advised her to pause, and to make a firm peace and alliance with France; after which she can negotiate with your Majesty more to her advantage.'—*De Quadra to Philip, February 23. MS. Simancas.*

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Relations
between the
Queen of
Scots and
her subjects.

hand, she had thought of marrying Don Carlos of Spain, and of persuading Philip to transfer his English patronage from Elizabeth to herself; on the other, an independent career was opening itself to her in her own country. She understood her subjects; she knew the angry disappointment which Elizabeth had provoked by rejecting the Earl of Arran. The ambition of giving a sovereign to England, which had made them her enemies in the summer, would now restore their allegiance to herself and their support to her pretensions; and, so far from their pressing upon her the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, by which those pretensions were abandoned, she could calculate safely on their connivance—perhaps on their open support—if she refused to do it.

The first effect of the affront which the Scots had received was a proposal of marriage to her from the rejected Earl; the second was to bring over flights of the young Scotch noblemen to her feet—among them the bold and ‘glorious’ Earl of Bothwell, the one among them all who, through good and evil, had been faithful to her mother’s fortunes.

She was not slow to understand her position, or to profit by it. On the 31st of December, the English ambassadors had demanded the ratification of the treaty. She said that her husband’s death had required a revision of the terms in which it had been drawn; but she would refer it to a mixed commission of English and French; and as they should recommend she would act.¹

But Elizabeth understood little as yet of Mary Stuart’s character, and apparently as little of the game which it was open to her to play. The chief fear was of

some fresh marriage like the last, which would again give a Catholic prince a pretext for interference in Scotland.

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Lord Bedford was therefore instructed when he delivered Elizabeth's letter to avoid irritating topics; and to say merely that he was commissioned to give her advice, which Elizabeth if the case were her own would thankfully receive. Scotland was a free country; let the Queen endeavour to govern it by its own laws, by love, rather than by force, and with the advice of her own Estates and subjects. She might possibly feel displeasure at the expulsion of the French from Leith; but in reality the service to herself had been as great as the service to England, and Elizabeth could honestly say that she had taken no advantage of the occasion to obtain any purpose of her own. She had annexed no Scottish soil; she had withdrawn no subject of the Scottish Crown from his allegiance; the country was now at peace, well governed, and in good order. Let the Queen keep it so; let her accept the hand which was offered her, and 'bury all unkindness;' and Elizabeth on her part would forget the injuries to herself, and would believe that their past disagreements had been occasioned only by the French marriage.

Advice of
Elizabeth to
the Queen
of Scots.

If these advances were well accepted, nothing more was to be said about the treaty. Elizabeth could afford to be generous; and, if the Queen of Scots showed a desire to be on good terms with her, she would not insist on the letter of her rights.

If however either in words or manner Mary Stuart showed that she would not accept these overtures, 'the intended friendship and love would have to be altered to some other affection,' but 'the fault' would be with the Queen of Scots herself, and she, in the end, would have most cause of regret. In that case, Bedford was to

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demand the immediate ratification, which there was no longer an excuse for refusing, and he was to warn the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise to be cautious in the advice which they should give to their niece. The Queen of England was ready to forget the past, but on condition only that she had no further cause for complaint or suspicion; and, if Bedford ascertained that either a Spanish or an Austrian marriage was in contemplation for the widowed Princess, he was to entreat the Protestant chiefs to do all in their power to prevent it.¹

Position of
the Hugue-
nots in
France.

When these instructions were drawn, it was believed in England that the predominance of the Reformers in France was, for a time at least, secured; but the turn of affairs had proved less favourable to them than the first revolution promised. Catherine de Medici wavered between her dread of the Guises and her hatred of Beza and Calvin. Navarre had introduced Protestant preachers into the Palace Chapel. Montmorency swore that the King's faith should not be corrupted by men whom his grandfather thought worthy only of fire and sword.

The toleration edict of December had not only set at liberty the prisoners for religion, but it had permitted the reclamation of forfeited estates; and every provincial council was a scene of wrangling and confusion. Cardinal Châtillon Archbishop of Beauvais, the Admiral's brother, superseded his cathedral mass with a 'supper' in his private house, while the mob—there, as in Paris, fanatically Catholic—were howling for vengeance round the walls. The Huguenot congregations attended sermons with steel cuirass, and hand on sword-hilt; and Cecil had miscalculated the humour of the 'Papists'

when he said he knew their cowardice. The ancestors of the French of 1793, removed from them by little more than 200 years, were ready to fight for the faith of the Church with the infernal passions of a legion of fiends. The whole people were drifting fast into civil war; Montmorency and the Marshal St. André were determined that no compact should be made with England, of which the surrender of Calais should be a condition; and thus, after all, Bedford's mission bore little fruit. He failed to persuade Catherine de Medici to refuse her sanction to the council which was about to reopen at Trent. He succeeded only in coming to an understanding with Navarre, Condé, and the Admiral, who foreseeing that they would soon be fighting for their lives again were ready to bid high for Elizabeth's support.

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February

Bedford's
mission
fails.

On the 15th of January, the Scotch Estates met to receive in form Elizabeth's refusal of the Earl of Arran. Bothwell, Ogilvy of Findlater, Leslie of Auchtermuchty, and others, had returned from Paris to be present. They brought with them as many as three hundred letters from the Queen to different noblemen and gentlemen, containing fair promises that henceforth she would know nothing but Scotland, and study only the greatness of her own subjects; the French that were left at Dunbar and Inchkeith should be withdrawn, and, if her subjects would receive her, she was ready to return, and throw herself without reserve upon their loyalty. To each nobleman she had found something special, something gracious to say, something to lead him to believe that she had a peculiar interest in himself. She played on the passionate Scotch heart, as upon an instrument of which she understood every note but one. She knew their feudal affection for their sovereign; she knew their

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national pride, their jealousy of England; she could appeal, with the certainty of a response, to her own position as a young and desolate widow; she comprehended all, save the new, hard, insoluble element of religion; and so successful was she that the Estates began immediately to consider whether they would not invite her back among them. Randolph wrote that 'all men were going after her;' that if Elizabeth desired to preserve a party in Scotland she must see to it promptly; and that if Mary Stuart returned 'it would soon be a mad world.'¹

. Thus, when Bedford brought Elizabeth's offer of goodwill, he was received with sufficient courtesy to prevent him from producing the more disagreeable part of his instructions. The Queen of Scots could say with entire sincerity that she intended to be guided, as her good sister recommended, by the advice of her subjects. She answered Elizabeth's letter in a tone of the utmost seeming cordiality,² while she no longer spoke of referring the treaty to a commission, but desired only to consult the Scotch Estates.

With this very partial success Bedford returned to England, while Noailles went to Scotland to solicit a renewal of the old league with France; and Maitland informed Cecil that what he had foreseen was coming to pass; and that Elizabeth, if she wished to retain the good-will of the Scots, must conciliate Mary Stuart in earnest.

" 'I pray you,' he said, 'in any wise let means be found that the Queen our sovereign may be in friendship with

¹ Randolph to Cecil, February 26.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² LEBANOFF, vol. i. p. 92.

that realm, otherwise the intelligence betwixt us can for no time endure. You may easily judge what subjects professing obedience are able to do, when the prince is bent a contrary way. If her highness may be induced by good means to embrace an equal league with that realm, then I trust the subjects of both shall long live in ease.¹

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In a second letter, and more confidentially, Maitland described the condition of Scottish parties.

State of
parties in
Scotland.

'Since,' he said, 'it had not pleased God that the realms should be united as he and Cecil had proposed,' every one was agreed 'that they must of necessity, so far as in them lay, procure the Queen their sovereign's benevolence towards them.' The neutrals who had hung back during the war, were wholly for their own princess, and so were the Catholics. Chatelherault and the Hamiltons would have her return, on condition that she would marry Arran; the remainder—'no small party, neither in humble degree nor power'—desired to have her among them with no conditions at all except that she would trust them and bring no strangers with her. All for the present was calm; but when the renewal of the league with France came again under discussion, Maitland feared that although it might be delayed for a time, resistance in the end would be found impossible.

'If,' he concluded, 'we could altogether refuse, which I can hardly think—yea, I think it will not be so—then, besides the Queen our sovereign lady's displeasure, we shall have France perpetually our enemy. It were a perilous estate for Scotland to break the league with France, and so have the protection of no foreign nation, we being by a dry marsh joined to that realm which is so puissant.

¹ Maitland to Cecil, February 28.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

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Although you be now our friends, and like enough that you will so continue for a good season; yet, seeing the means of perpetual friendship is desperate, it is to be thought that time may make you enemies, and then were we a facile prey for you, being destitute of all friendship. I give you warning of all these matters beforehand and ere they come in question, that you may advise therewith in time.¹

Mission of
Noailles to
the Estates.

Maitland also, like Mary Stuart, surveyed all the elements of the question but one. He too made small account of religion. How little he thought of it appears from his passing it over in silence. Yet it was this which alone political intrigue failed to disintegrate; it was this which was to determine the future of the Scotch nation, and the power of it was immediately to be visible in a signal instance. Noailles came, and with him the expected discussion on the terms of the Queen's return; and so sure had he and his friends felt of success that he had added a demand, in Mary's name, that the Catholic faith should be re-established, and 'the bishops and kirkmen' restored to the livings of which they had been deprived. So absolutely was political ingenuity at fault that Noailles' mission was instantly wrecked. 'The bishops,' for whom he pleaded, were called 'wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle bellies,' the Catholic Church was reviled as 'the congregation of Satan;' the league—the acceptance of which Maitland thought so certain—was flung back in the face of the French, and the Estates declared that after the services which they had received from England, the English alliance should be preferred to all others. The Protestants

might resent the slight which had been passed upon them, but their creed was as dear to them as ever, and policy and national pride might be powerful without being all-powerful. The country divided itself into two sharply-divided parties, each professing loyalty to their sovereign, and each anxious to see her return to Scotland. Huntley, Athol, Sutherland, Caithness, Bothwell, Seton, and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's formed into a separate convention for the immediate restoration of Catholicism. They sent Leslie, afterwards the famous Bishop of Ross to Mary, to invite her to land at Aberdeen, where they would join her with 20,000 men, and march on Edinburgh. The Protestants sent Lord James Stuart to bid her come to them, in the name of the Parliament which had passed the Confession of Faith, and to rule by the law of which the reformed religion was a part.¹

If not mistaken in the feelings of her subjects, Mary Stuart had been utterly premature. Victory over the Reformation, if not impossible, was as yet far off; and Lord James, as a proof that the invitation to the Queen was not intended as an act of hostility to England, went through London on his way, taking with him from Randolph, as his credentials, an assurance 'that Elizabeth would find him such a man as the like was not in the nation for wit and power to serve her Majesty.'

Leaving the two commissioners to make their way to France, we return to Lord Robert, who was busily engaged in reconstructing his torn web. Elizabeth, if she had escaped the immediate temptation, had by no means parted with her hopes. The mission of Bedford had borne less fruit than those by whom it was originated had expected; and, half-deceiving her lover, half-led away

Randolph to Cecil, March 18.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Ibid.

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herself, the Queen allowed him to continue his negotiations with de Quadra.

On the 13th of February, three weeks after Sidney's first interview, the promised meeting was effected between the Bishop and Dudley.

Renewed
advances to
de Quadra.

Lord Robert repeated the assurances which his brother-in-law had made in his name. He said that he believed that the Queen would marry him if the Bishop could assure her of the King of Spain's approbation; the King of Spain in return should find in himself, at all seasons and in all services, the most humble and devoted of his followers.

De Quadra had as yet received no answer from Philip, and replied that without instructions he could say nothing to the Queen of the desirableness of any particular marriage; but believing, as he did, that could Elizabeth be tempted to so rash a step, she would be walking over the precipice down which he longed to see her plunged, he said he would press upon her generally the necessity of marrying some one, and if she mentioned Lord Robert's name, he would recommend him to the best of his ability. A day or two after de Quadra saw Elizabeth herself, and in a letter to his master he thus described the scene:—

'I said she was well aware of your Majesty's desire to see her married; it was rumoured that she was seriously thinking of it; and I could not but tell her what pleasure the report had given me. Should she wish to consult your Majesty, I would use my diligence in communicating her wishes to you; and if I could not at that time be more precise it was because my commission did not allow me.

'She replied, after much circumlocution, that she would make me her ghostly father, and I should hear her confession.

‘It came to this, that she was no angel. She could not deny that she had a strong regard for the many excellent qualities which she saw in Lord Robert. She had not indeed resolved to marry either him or any one; only every day she felt more and more the want of a husband. She thought her own people would like to see her married to an Englishman, and she asked me what your Majesty would think if she married one of her household, as the Duchess of Suffolk had done, and the Duchess of Somerset, whom she used to laugh at. To this I said I could not tell. I had never spoken on the subject with your Majesty; but if she would direct me what to say, I would write and ask you. I was sure of this, that marry whom she would, your Majesty would be pleased to hear of it, and that your Majesty well knew the high character which was borne by the Lord Robert.

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March
Elizabeth
and de
Quadra.

‘With an air of much satisfaction, she said she would speak to me again, and meanwhile she would promise to do nothing without your Majesty’s sanction. She evidently wished that I should say more, but I refrained, for fear of making a mistake, and because she is——what we know her to be. As there is danger however that carried away by passion as she is, she may fly into some opposite extravagance, I would not leave her without hope. The heretics are full of energy: they have intelligence with Germany, France, and Scotland. Your own Low Countries are in no safe condition; and if we let this woman become desperate she may do something which may fatally injure us, although she destroy herself at the same time.’¹

The next day Lord Robert again sought de Quadra.

¹ De Quadra to Philip, February 23.—*MS. Simancas.*

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He told the Bishop that the Queen was delighted with her interview. She was but hesitating out of timidity: if he would but press her a little farther she would give way. For himself he would be Spanish, heart and soul; and as to religion, not only should England send representatives to Trent, but, if necessary, he would attend the Council in person.

For decency's sake, when religion was brought in question, de Quadra protested. The King of Spain, he said, would no doubt be glad of Dudley's services; but, he added, that any return of Elizabeth to the Church must be matter of conscience rather than of condition: it must not be said that Spain had made a bargain to recover England to orthodoxy. In again writing to Philip, however, he pressed the necessity of prompt resolution. Double-minded and unstable as Elizabeth evidently was, he thought—though he spoke with diffidence—that Lord Robert had expressed her real feelings. The King of Spain must decide whether he would close with these proposals, or assist the Catholics openly to make a revolution.

'Nothing can be worse,' he said, 'than to leave things thus to chance, which will breed some great disaster to your Majesty.' You must pardon me if I go beyond my office in speaking thus: my duty makes me forget my prudence. I do not speak my own opinion only; every honest man in the realm uses the same language. The Duke of Norfolk is on the worst terms with the Queen and Lord Robert. Lady Lennox wishes to marry her son the Lord Darnley to the Queen of Scots, and, as I understand, is not without hope of success.'¹

¹ De Quadra to Philip, February—*MS. Simancas.*

The introduction of Lord Darnley's name for the first time, in connexion with Mary Stuart, requires a few explanatory words.

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Eighteen years before, the Earl of Lennox had claimed against the Hamiltons the succession to the Scotch throne, in default of the royal line. Chatelherault, then Earl of Arran and Regent of Scotland, was a tool in the hands of Cardinal Beton; and Henry the Eighth had found in Lennox a convenient instrument for maintaining the English party. But the Earl had played his cards ill: he was driven out, and took refuge in England, where he had remained ever since a discontented pensioner of the English crown. He had married, with Henry's consent, Margaret, daughter of Margaret Tudor Queen of Scotland, by the Earl of Angus her second husband; and Lady Lennox, though unnamed in the line of succession in Henry the Eighth's will, had been the favourite candidate of Queen Mary, who had given her precedence over Elizabeth in the court. She had taken part in Elizabeth's persecution, and had used the opportunity of insulting her when she was brought from Hatfield as a prisoner to answer for her life after Wyatt's conspiracy.

The house
of Lennox.

Elizabeth, on coming to the throne, had repaid her impertinence by marked kindness; but the Countess could neither forgive the mortification of her own hopes, nor endure her position as a dependent of a princess whom she hated. She was thus leading a restless life of feverish intrigue. She was a passionate Catholic; and her only son, Lord Darnley, she had brought up to be the hope of the Catholic party. In addition to her proximity to the English crown, she was as the sole child of Angus, the reputed heiress of the vast inheritance of the Douglasses. The Hamiltons still kept

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from her husband the escheated lands of Lennox; and thus a wronged, angry, and ambitious woman, she was fishing ever in the troubled waters, and was now speculating on the match between Darnley and the Queen of Scots, as a means of recovering her property, and establishing a double claim on the English crown.

To the existing complications another was about to be added. Lord Robert had undertaken for Elizabeth that she would send representatives to Trent. Whether he had authority for what he had said, or had formed his expectations out of his wishes, was immediately to be put to the test. Paul the Fourth had died in August, 1559. The Cardinal de Medici had succeeded under the title of Pius the Fifth, with the joint consent of Spain and France; and peace between the great powers had given the opportunity for the revival of the Council which their quarrels had dissolved.

The Council
of Trent.

After much correspondence and some uncertainty, the French, Spanish, and Imperial Courts had again agreed upon Trent as the spot where it should assemble. Whether England would consent to be represented there was the great question of the day. Although Edward's Liturgies had been restored, the mass abolished, the Pope again deprived by act of Parliament of his spiritual supremacy, yet England had always expressed her readiness to submit to any Council which could represent freely and fairly the learning and piety of Christendom. This council, like the last, was called in the name of the Pope; yet the Pope had not retaliated on Elizabeth by excommunication as the world had expected; it was understood that a temperate policy was to be the order of the day; and a nuncio was now on his way from Rome to invite the Queen of England to unite in the common interests of Christianity.

There was much to be said on the surface in favour of compliance. The Pope had shown forbearance where it was least expected of him. If the reformed countries refused to take a part in the Council, they left the field to their adversaries, and seemed to shrink from a tribunal to which church controversies had from the beginning been submitted: while as certainly those who had held aloof would be visited at the conclusion by interdict and excommunication—to which neither Elizabeth nor her ministers could affect to be indifferent. The majority of her subjects were under a prejudice which it was unsafe to disregard, that they were still members of the corporate Catholic Church. Lord Robert Dudley had caught the opportunity to identify his private ambition with a great cause; and knowing himself to be execrated by the Protestants, he was cultivating with partial success the gratitude of the orthodox.

On the other hand, to accept the invitation of the Pope, was to admit, in a sense, his supremacy. In a Council under the Papal presidency, the Lutheran and Calvinist ministers would be fortunate if they were allowed to speak without molestation. The votes would be confined to the bishops; and with England the ugly question would rise, whether if the Pope's supremacy was admitted even by implication, the prisoners in the Tower were not the only bishops whom the Pope could recognize.

Lord Bedford, when at Paris, had laboured, but laboured in vain, to persuade Catherine de Medici to agree to a national council in France, or to a general council in Germany. Catherine had gone with her kinsman; and Trent and the Papal presidency were established certainties.

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Elizabeth
admits a
community
of religious
interests
with the
Scots.

Immediately that the meeting and character, of the Council was determined, the Huguenots disclaimed interest in it, denied its legality, and avowed openly that they would never submit to its decisions. The princes of the Smalcaldic league met at Nuremberg to answer the message of invitation which the Pope had sent them. They declined unanimously to send any minister in any capacity to a Council so constituted. They invited England and Scotland to join them in their refusal; and here we are met by the singular phenomenon that at the very time when Lord Robert believed that he had secured Elizabeth for himself for Philip and for the Pope, Cecil with or without her sanction was recognizing an identity of religious interests with the Scots which before he was forbidden to acknowledge. In desiring Randolph to express to the Lords of the Congregation the Queen's cordial regard for them, he bade him tell them that 'her Majesty saw daily no amity or intelligence betwixt one country and another, so sure as that which was grounded upon unity and consent in religion.'¹

Elizabeth's real state of mind was perhaps divined truly by de Quadra when he said that she was self-willed and detested dependence. She courted the Reformers abroad to free herself from the King of Spain; she was exasperated at the thralldom in which she was held by the heretics at home, who forbade her to marry Dudley, and when the yoke pressed hard she looked wistfully to Philip to emancipate her. In great things and small, in fact, like other people, she preferred her own way, and was angry when she could not have it—and

¹ Memorial to Randolph in the Queen's behalf, signed by Cecil, March 20, 1561.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

yet through fear in the opinion of de Quadra, or as the reader may prefer to believe through the prompting of her nobler instincts, when the time came for action she yielded always to the direction of Cecil.¹

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The Bishop's chief anxiety and Cecil's chief fear was that she might be tempted into some position from which she could not be extricated. Very soon Cecil ascertained that the intrigue with de Quadra was on foot again. How far it had gone he could not learn; he was ignorant and was most anxious to ascertain whether either Elizabeth or Dudley had spoken to the Bishop alone.² He obtained a promise from the Queen however that she would do nothing without consent of Parliament,³ and when Lord Robert fell ill with vexation, he seems to have contrived to obtain for himself the direction of the negotiation with de Quadra—promising to do his best in it.

Certain it is at any rate that Cecil went to de Quadra on Elizabeth's behalf, to speak to him about her marriage with Lord Robert. He understood, he said, that Sir Henry Sidney had wished the King of Spain to write to Elizabeth advising her to marry Lord Robert. He

¹ 'El desíño de la Reyna esta eximirse en cierta manera de V. M. que la tiene apretada de manera que no puede hacer en su Reyno todo lo que quiere viendo la confianza y afición que los Católicos de aquí tienen a V. M. La summa es que Cecil y estos ereges quieren tener á la Reyna sujeta y atada á su voluntad y obligada á mantener sus eregias; y aunque ella ve que los ereges la tratan muy mal especialmente los predicadores y que Roberto esta por quisto dellos que de los Católicos, no osa hacer otra cosa que

lo que Cecil le aconseja, porque piensa que luego se levantarán los unos y los otros contra ella.'—*De Quadra, al Rey, March 23.*—*MS. Simancas.*

² *Ibid.*

³ 'Me dixo Cecil que la Reyna estaba resuelta de no hacer nada en este negocio sin la voluntad y consentimiento de los de su Reyno, el qual tiene autoridad de gobernar los negocios publicos de su Reyno, y no era bien que en este la Reyna le prejudicase casandose sin consultando á ellos.'—*Ibid.*

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thought it would be well if the King would write such a letter—but it should be a general letter recommending merely that she should marry an Englishman—such as could be laid before Parliament. He assumed as a matter of course that Lord Robert would be the person whom the Queen would choose.

De Quadra inquired whether he was to consider this language as a message from the Queen, which he was to report to his master.

Cecil said that the Queen being a lady, could not enter on the subject of herself. It was not for her to invent contrivances to enable herself to be married. Her name must not be mentioned.

At this conversation Sir Henry Sidney had contrived to be present; he had been sent, the Bishop said, by his brother-in-law to keep watch on Cecil.

De Quadra turned to him, and asked if he had anything to suggest.

Sidney answered coldly that Lord Robert would be grateful for any service which the King of Spain might do for him. In passing into Cecil's hands, he was well aware that the scheme was at an end. De Quadra said that both Sidney and Lord Robert had endeavoured to persuade Elizabeth to shake off Cecil's tyranny and throw herself unreservedly on Philip, but they had not succeeded.

But this subject was not the only one on which Cecil had to speak to de Quadra. The Spanish ambassador was the medium of communication between England and the Catholic world; it was through him that the coming of a messenger from the Pope was made known and Philip had sent by him a personal request to Elizabeth, to admit the nuncio to her presence. This too was a delicate matter on which cautious fencing

was necessary. That the Church of England itself should have been consulted on an occasion of such importance could have occurred to no one who was acquainted with the nature of its existence; but Elizabeth's humour about it was dubious and, as usual, irresolute.

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If the Council was held in a place which the Kings of France and Spain considered satisfactory the Queen of England, Cecil said, 'could not reasonably object; she would not refuse to allow the presidency of the Pope, provided it was understood that the Pope was not above the council but merely its head; and its decisions should be accepted in England, if they were in harmony with Holy Scripture, and the first four General Councils.' But he assumed—as if it was a point on which no difficulty could be raised—'that the English bishops, having been apostolically ordained, and not merely elected by a congregation like Lutheran or Calvinist heretics, would be admitted to sit with the rest.'

Conditions
under which
Elizabeth
will recog-
nize the
Council of
Trent.

The ambassador said it should be considered hereafter, and parried Cecil's thrust with another. The General Council, he said, would probably be a failure after all, through the obstinacy of the Germans; was it possible that a national Council could be held in England under a Papal legate?

To this of course Cecil objected; de Quadra reminded him that the change in religion had been effected by Act of Parliament alone in the teeth of the entire ecclesiastical estate; but Cecil said peremptorily that the admission of a Papal legate was impossible; and, firing a last shot as he took his leave, he added that if the Pope wrote to the Queen he must address her as Defender of the Faith; if her titles were inadequately rendered the letter would not be received.

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‘I know not what to think,’ the Bishop wrote, in concluding his account of this conversation; ‘things are so perplexed that they utterly confuse me: Cecil is a violent heretic; but he is neither a fool nor a liar, and he pretends to be dealing with me frankly and honourably.’

‘The points which he concedes about the Council are of great value.’

‘The Queen’s position is a most difficult one; but although it is possible that the consciousness of her danger, united with her passion for Lord Robert, may make her really desirous to rejoin the Church, so it is possible that she may be playing a game to keep in favour with your Majesty, and to deceive her Catholic subjects with hopes which she has no intention of fulfilling.’

A few days later arrived Philip’s answer to Sir Henry Sidney’s first proposals. The King of Spain was never in a hurry; the couriers were on the road a fortnight, between London and Madrid; six weeks were spent in deliberation, and at the end of them Philip had concluded to consider Dudley’s offer with favour. He was anxious for peace—anxious for the success of the Council; he shrunk from the rough methods of dealing with Elizabeth which were pressed upon him by de Feria, because he knew that if he encouraged an insurrection of the Catholics, he would embroil himself with France, and Europe would be once more in a conflagration. Thus, although he admitted that he had little confidence in Elizabeth—that many times before he had found that her smooth words meant only that she was in difficulty, and that when the difficulty passed her humour changed again—

he let himself believe that her present passion was more deeply rooted; and that, if so, he might as well take advantage of it.

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But, before he would take any action, he required proofs of Elizabeth's sincerity. He must see a declaration in her own hand, and signed with her name, that she wished to be reconciled to the Church. She must release the bishops and others, who were in the Tower for refusing the oath of supremacy; she must allow her Catholic subjects to use their own services freely till the conclusion of the Council. If she would satisfy him on these points, she might assure herself that he, himself, and the Catholics in England and out of it, would support her in her marriage with Lord Robert Dudley.¹

Philip encourages the Dudley marriage.

Could de Quadra have returned this answer when Sidney first spoke to him, something might perhaps have come of it; but it was too late. It was a misfortune of Elizabeth's stratagems that she deceived her friends as well as her enemies. From the first opening of the intrigue, she had treated de Quadra with marked attention; the apparent cordiality between the Court and the Spanish ambassador alarmed the Catholics into a belief that Philip was about to desert them; and to allay their apprehensions de Quadra told Heath and Montague that she had held out hopes to him that she would acknowledge the Council, and that negotiations were actually in progress which might lead to her return to the Catholic Church. Heath and Montague told their friends, and the news went through London like an electric shock.

At the beginning of April the Queen removed to

¹ Philip II. to de Quadra, March 17. Toledo.—MS. *Simancas*.

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Greenwich, where it was generally understood that she intended to receive the nuncio; and Lord Robert, when the contents of Philip's letter were communicated to him, could not conceal his imprudent exultation, and paraded his own and (as he represented it) the Queen's intention of 'restoring religion.'¹

From the time that Cecil's hand had been in the matter, de Quadra had felt misgivings that Dudley was deceiving himself. The nuncio's arrival however would be a final criterion of the course which England would follow. If a messenger from the Pope was publicly received, Elizabeth's professions were sincere; if he was refused an audience, the bubble would break.

Unless Cecil was purposely deceiving Throgmorton, Elizabeth was really entangled;² yet already unfavourable symptoms were justifying the Bishop's uncertainty. By way of answer to Philip's demand for the liberation of the bishops, and to allay the alarm of the Reformers, Cecil had instituted a general search for Catholic conventicles. Sir Edward Waldegrave one of Mary's Council had allowed mass to be said in his house; he was sent, with Lady Waldegrave, the priest, and the congregation, to the Tower.³

¹ Elizabeth had given Lord Robert a fresh proof of favour. 'El discontento de Milord Roberto ha pasado; en que le ha mandado la Reyna dar un aposento en lo alto junto al suyo por ser mas sano que el que tiene abajo, y esta contentisimo. Le dije que V. M. se habia holgado mucho de haber entendido la determinacion que el tiene de procurar la restauracion de la religion en este Reyno. Respondiome luego y sin detenerse ni pensar en ello que era verdad que

la tenia, y que la misma tenia la reyna, la cual no deseaba otra cosa que verse fuera destas disensiones y tener su reyno quieto.'—*De Quadra to Philip, April 12.*—*MS. Simancas.*

² 'Here hath been no small ado to refuse this Popish messenger. The Bishop of Aquila had won more with former practices than was easy to overtake.'—*Cecil to Throgmorton, HARDWICK PAPERS*, vol. i.

³ Examination of persons arrested April 17.—*Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

'When I saw this Romish influence toward,' wrote Cecil, 'I thought it necessary to dull the Papists' expectations by punishing of massmongers for the rebating of their humours.'¹

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Sir Henry Sidney received orders to repair to his presidency. Before he left London he told de Quadra that it was a pretext to get rid of him—he had been the first instrument in the negotiation, and his presence was inconvenient. The Queen had changed her mind, and would act like a woman; and the blame would be thrown upon Lord Robert.²

Sir Henry Sidney is sent out of London.

It appeared also that the Catholic nobles would be no parties to the intrigue. On the 23rd of April, at the annual meeting of the Knights of the Garter, Sussex proposed an address to the Queen, recommending Dudley

¹ Cecil to Throgmorton.—CONWAY MSS. Several curious circumstances were connected with these arrests. Sir Thomas Stradling, of Glamorgan-shire, was charged with exhibiting a crucifix said to have been found in the heart of a tree that was blown down in his park, and it was thought worth while to send a commission from London to investigate the story.

The Bishop of London acted as Cecil's inquisitor in the affair of Sir Edward Waldegrave; and wishing to do his work effectually, yet not venturing, as he admitted, to inflict a heavy punishment for merely saying or hearing mass, he discovered that the officiating priest had been concerned in making a 'love philtre.' Sorcery would be a safer ground for process. The Bishop applied to the Lord Chief Justice Catlin, to learn what the law was in such cases, and

Catlin replied, unexpectedly, that it was an offence for which no provision had been made. The Church courts had hitherto claimed cognizance of all such cases; but they were now crippled and powerless, and the only precedent which he could find bearing on the case, was one of the time of Edward the Third, thus entered on the roll:—

'Ung homme fut prinse en Southwark avec ung teste et ung visaige dung homme morte et avec ung lyvre de sorcerie en son male et fut amesne en banque du Roy devant Knyvet Justice maiz nulle endictment fut vers luy, por qui les clerkes luy fierent jurement que jamais ne feroit sorcerie en apres, et fut delyvere del prison, et le teste et les lyvres furent arses a Totehyll a les costages du prisonnier.'—*Domestic MSS.*, ELIZ., vol. xvi.

² De Quadra to Philip, May 1.—*MS. Sinancas.*

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to her as a husband. Norfolk and Arundel refused their consent; Montague, to whom a few days before Lord Robert had in vain written a fawning letter, was equally unwilling, and there must have been some by-action behind the scenes—like the game which had been played with de Quadra; for an address was presented, in the place of that proposed by Sussex, recommending marriage generally, but without Dudley's name, and the Queen replied in a passion that when she married, 'she would consult her own pleasure, and not that of her nobles.' The scheme was not progressing; it was plain that the Catholics would not purchase a change of policy at the price of accepting Dudley as their King.¹

In the face of such symptoms de Quadra foresaw too certainly the fate of his demand for the admission of the nuncio. It had been presented in the form of a personal request from Philip to the Queen, by whom it was submitted to the Council. The nuncio himself waited in Flanders to hear the result of their deliberation.

Debate on
the recep-
tion of the
nuncio.

The points raised in the discussion were, first, whether under the statutes of Henry the Eighth a Papal emissary could legally be admitted into England; and, secondly, whether, if the law could be evaded, the advantages to be gained would compensate for the possible inconvenience.

Premunire—that fatal spell, before which spiritual pretensions sunk exorcised, mysterious as excommunication, and no less terrible in its vagueness—was again brought forward. The Council remembered that even Queen Mary had held at bay with it the legatine commission sent by Paul to the rival of Pole; while again 'the very sound'

¹ 'Relacion de las cartas del Obispo de Aquila á su Mag^d.; Avril, Mayo, 1561.—*MS. Simancas*.

of the coming of a nuncio had awakened dangerous hopes and agitating rumours. Priests had 'conversed with the devil,' to learn how long the Queen would live; and the devil had answered—loyal citizens would hope untruly—'that she should not long continue.' Summer was coming on, when 'the devil had most opportunity to make trouble and tumults; and, if there were signs of yielding to the Pope, bad subjects would rebel, and good subjects 'would be cast down.'

The nuncio might offer to take an oath that, while he was in England, he would do nothing prejudicial to the realm—but prejudicial was a vague word; 'or he might think it was no perjury to break faith with heretics.'

The Pope could not possibly mean well towards the present constitution of the English Church; and the nuncio's chief object would probably be 'to prepare the discontented subjects for rebellion.'

While the Council were thus deliberating, Elizabeth sent for de Quadra, if possible to soothe him. She attempted to persuade him that differences of opinion in religion were not matters which need interrupt her good relations with the Catholic powers; and then asked particularly what Philip had proposed to do about Lord Robert and herself, in case Catholicism was restored.

De Quadra replied sullenly that Philip had proposed nothing. Overtures had been made by Sir Henry Sidney, by Lord Robert, and by herself; Lord Robert had declared expressly in his own name and hers, that England was to be brought back to the Church; and the King of Spain, who was only anxious for the welfare of the realm, had professed extreme pleasure at the news.

¹ Note of a consultation held at Greenwich, May 1.—*Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

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She said she could not believe Lord Robert could have made such large offers.

The Bishop replied that if she would send for him, he would confess it in her presence; nay she had said as much in her conversations with himself; he reminded her of the times and places.

She could not deny her words; she said it might be so, but there had been conditions. The Bishop answered that he remembered nothing of conditions; and, as a last hope, he implored her not to reject the opportunity which God had offered her of restoring order, and to admit the nuncio.

She said he would receive his answer from the Council, before whom he was presently after requested to appear. The deliberation was concluded; they were prepared to communicate their decision.

The nuncio
cannot be
admitted.

What that decision was de Quadra read in Cecil's face. He refused to hear it; he would take his answer, he said, from no one but the Queen. He was told that he might do as he pleased about that. The resolution would be read in his presence, and he might report it or not, as seemed good to him.

Politely and peremptorily the visit of the nuncio was declined. Neither directly nor indirectly could England recognize the authority of the Pope; and for sending bishops or ambassadors to the Council, as soon as any free and truly general council could be assembled by consent of all Christian princes, with guarantees for liberty of discussion, England would be willingly represented there; but for the Council to which they were now invited—called by the Pope as a continuation of the Council lately held at Trent—where no manner of person might have voice or decision but such as were already sworn to the maintenance of the Pope's autho-

city,' 'her Majesty could hope no good from it, as tending only to confirm those errors and those claims which had occasioned the disorder of Christendom.'

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That was their final judgment.

The Bishop coldly replied that for such a message they must use their own ministers. For himself he had been the bearer of a request from the King of Spain to their mistress; and he must learn from her own lips whether the words were theirs or hers.

He at once returned to her room.

'I found her,' he wrote in his report to Philip, 'embarrassed, confused, and evidently frightened. I had been told, I said, that the nuncio was not to be admitted. She had led me to expect a different result. I was sorry on public grounds, and for myself she had made me ridiculous in your Majesty's eyes.'

Elizabeth
and de
Quadra.

'She pretended that when she had spoken to me of sending to the Council she had assumed that it would be a free Council.

'I said I knew nothing of assumptions: I had but reported to your Majesty her own words. But the chief loss was not mine. I knew how it was; and it rested only with herself to retrace her steps when she pleased.

'She spoke much, in reply, of her grateful devotion to your Majesty, and so I left her.'

'Bitterly sorry am I,' the Bishop said in conclusion, 'that I could not close with Sidney's first advance to me before those practices had grown through Paget's means with the French and German heretics; but I have not ceased to show both the Queen and Lord Robert that

¹ Spanish MSS. Rolls House. De Quadra to Philip, May 5.—MS. Simancas.

² De Quadra to Philip, May 5.—MS. Simancas.

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whenever they choose to turn to your Majesty they may take their own way, and marry without having to sue as mendicants for the consent of their subjects.' ¹

St. Paul's is
set on fire
by light-
ning.

The nuncio then was refused. The Pope's offered hand was rejected; and in a manner more marked than ever, England declared her confirmed hostility to the see of Rome. 'God, whose cause it is,' wrote Cecil, 'and the Queen's Majesty, whose only surety therein rested, hath—the one by directing, the other by yielding—ended the matter well; and if it may so continue I shall be in more quietness.' ² Once more the Catholics saw their hopes fade away; yet not, at least, without a consolatory accident, which seemed to show that they were not wholly forsaken of Heaven. The spire of St. Paul's was the pride of English architecture. Five hundred feet it towered up into the then transparent air, dipping the gilded eagle which glittered on its summit, into the lower strata of the clouds, the envy of the Christian world. On the 4th of June a thunder-cloud drew down over London. The sky grew black as ink, still as night, and almost as dark. About two in the afternoon the first flash broke, and amidst the roar of the thunder a pinnacle was struck from the tower of St. Martin's Church, and fell through the roof into the nave, while a boatman from his wherry on the river saw a jagged line of light touch for an instant the highest point of the proud Cathedral. For the moment it seemed to have passed harmlessly by—the slender shaft stood proud as

¹ 'No he dexado de p[ro]ceder por la via que ha començado, que es mostrarles á ella y á Roberto lo que han de tomar si quieren ganar la voluntad de V. Ma. para con esto poder hacer la

suya, que es casarse sin haber de mendicar ny comprar, como hacen el consenso de sus subditos.'—*MS. Simancas*.

² Cecil to Throgmorton, May.—*CONWAY MSS.*

ever against the storm cloud—but towards evening a faint blue smoke was seen curling round the ball. Pale tongues of fire flickered out into a coronet of light, and a minute later the cross and the great eagle crashed down upon the floor of the south transept. The lead with which the wood was sheeted ran down in a fiery stream, kindling the surface as it swept along; and very soon the whole spire, from the tower wall to the summit, was a gigantic pyramid of fire.

All London rushed to the Churchyard; bishops, lords, and councillors herded helpless and confused with the crowd of citizens. The cry was to break the communication of the tower with the church. But the dense mass of people surging to and fro, choked the avenues by which workmen could be brought up; they were short of tools, and there was no ladder which could reach the battlements. The south transept was kindled by the lead; the nave, east and west, soon followed. The wind was rising, and with beams and blazing rafters, falling everywhere, the next fear was for the Bishop's Palace, and for the houses towards the Thames.

Happily, the conflagration had been visible far down the river. The Queen had seen it from the windows of Greenwich Palace; Winter's ships were lying in Limehouse Reach, and with his boats' crews and with the pirate Strangways who was now a valued officer in Elizabeth's service, the young admiral hurried to the scene. The presence of a disciplined body of men brought the crowd to order. The useless hands were ranged in lines to the Thames' banks, passing water-buckets to and fro. As soon as the last remains of the spire had fallen the sailors climbed upon the blazing roof; the Palace was covered with hides and drenched with water, and the communication broken with the cathedral. By ten o'clock

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the fire had ceased to spread, by midnight it was extinguished.

The wind, in the course of the storm, had veered round the compass; cinders had fallen in a circle from Fleet Street to Newgate Market; and drops of lead were found far away in gardens in the suburbs; though, strange to say, no life was lost, and no other house was injured. But the Cathedral of Paul's, the world's wonder—which under Edward had been desecrated into a public lounge, a stock exchange, and a stable, which Mary and Pole had purified, and which again was sinking into neglect and profanation—stood a charred and roofless ruin.

The fanatic multitude cried that it was the work of the Papists: the Papists had put gunpowder into the spire, or they had set it on fire by magic. Among the Catholics 'the disaster was terribly discoursed of; the best did interpret it as Jonah preaching to Nineveh; the malicious did apply it to such signs as chanced to Sodom and Jerusalem.'

A sermon
on the de-
struction of
St. Paul's.

For once wisdom was heard from the pulpit. The Bishop of Durham (Pilkington) the following Sunday told the people sharply that it was not for them 'to attribute the calamity to God's displeasure against any special sect or condition of men.' 'He bade every man look at home, and say *ego sum qui peccavi*. And as to the supposition that it was 'a judgment on the change of religion,' 'he showed out of history that, as great, or greater calamities had happened when there was no change of religion.' Half London had been burnt in the time of Stephen. The spire which had just fallen was struck in the reign of the saintly Henry the Sixth.

If however there was no evidence in the burning of St. Paul's that God resented the rejection of the nuncio, the resentment of the Pope might have been looked for with some certainty. It was only at Philip's intercession that the bolt had been so long withheld. It was now expected confidently that Pius would reply with such weapons as were at his command. And Elizabeth, without doubt, would have been spared no longer had not Philip again interposed. Still forcing himself to hope that de Quadra would succeed in working upon her, he wrote to Cardinal Pacheco his minister at Rome, bidding him request the Pope once more to stay his hand.

'His Holiness,' he said, 'after the refusal to admit his nuncio, may desire naturally to pronounce the Queen of England schismatic, and deprive her of her crown. If he has any such intention, I must request him to forbear from pronouncing a sentence which cannot be executed.'

Philip prevents the Pope from excommunicating Elizabeth.

'The duty of carrying it into effect will devolve upon myself, as the most faithful son of the Church. I am at present in no condition to attempt any such enterprise; and, should I do so, the French and Germans will no doubt take arms against me. The peace of Europe will be broken, and the Council, the only remedy for the diseases of the world, will be again postponed.

'Occasion will not be wanting by-and-by, when I am better prepared; and my own person and the arms of Spain will be then at his Holiness's disposal.' He knows well my zeal in the matter. For this I married my Queen who is in glory, when her age and constitution gave small promise of children; and the risk to which I exposed my life in going to that realm is

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notorious to the world. When the present Queen destroyed all that we had done, the late Pope proposed to depose her, and give England to me. Sensible as I was of his Holiness's kindness, I persuaded him to forbear. You will instruct the present Pope, in my name, to exercise the same moderation, assuring him at the same time that I aim at nothing but the glory of God.

'You will observe in his reply, whether he repeat the offer made to me by Paul the Fourth. I would know his views on that point as soon as possible.'

Thus again Elizabeth was left to de Quadra's skill; and the ambassador, to do him justice, played his part with meritorious ability. The progress of the love affair will be seen in the two following letters:—

DE QUADRA TO PHILIP.

London, June 30.

'Five or six clergy have been exposed on the pillory as conjurors and necromancers. They were found making a figure of the nativities of the Queen and Lord Robert, with I know not what other strange things—trifles all of them, had they not fallen into the hands of men who were glad to make priests ridiculous.

A water-

part of the
the

'The Queen invited me to a party given by Lord Robert on St. John's day. I asked her whether she thought her ministers had done good to their country by making a laughing-stock of Catholics in this way. She assured me the secretary was not to blame. In speaking

¹ Philip II. to Cardinal Pacheco, July 11.—MIGNET'S *Life of Mary Stuart*. Appendix.

of your Majesty, she said that as long as you were in England, you had been a general benefactor, and had never injured a creature.

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'I professed myself shocked at the doings of the Council. I told her she should look better to them, and not allow these headstrong violent men to guide her in so serious a matter as religion.

'She listened patiently and thanked me for my advice. In the afternoon we were in a barge, watching the games on the river. She was alone with the Lord Robert and myself on the poop, when they began to talk nonsense, and went so far, that Lord Robert at last said, as I was on the spot there was no reason why they should not be married if the Queen pleased. She said that perhaps I did not understand sufficient English. I let them trifle in this way for a time, and then I said gravely to them both, that if they would be guided by me they would shake off the tyranny of those men who were oppressing the realm and them; they would restore religion and good order; and they could then marry when they pleased—and gladly would I be the priest to unite them. Let the heretics complain if they dared. With your Majesty at her side, the Queen might defy danger. At present it seemed she could marry no one who displeased Cecil and his companions.

I Conversation between de Quadra, Lord Robert, and the Queen.

'I enlarged on this point, because I see that unless I can detach her and Lord Robert from the pestilential heresy with which they are surrounded, there will be no change. If I can once create a schism, things will go as we desire. This therefore appears to me the wisest course to follow. If I keep aloof from the Queen, I leave the field open to the heretics. If I keep her in good humour with your Majesty, there is always hope—especially if the heretics can be provoked into some act

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of extravagance. They are irritated to the last degree to see me so much about the Queen's person.

'Your Majesty need not fear that I shall alienate the Catholics. Not three days ago, those persons whom your Majesty knows of, sent to me to say that their party was never so strong as at this moment; nor the Queen and Council so universally abhorred.'

DE QUADRA TO GRANVELLE.

June 31.

'You will see by my letter to the King how we are going on. I keep on terms with the Queen and Lord Robert, because the heretics with their quarrels and impertinences may sooner or later drive her out of patience, and nothing is more likely to tempt them to it than her intimacy with me. She on her part knows that it is her interest to keep well with me, because with this love affair of hers, she would be a lost woman if the King our master so pleased. As to the rumoured marriages with Sweden or Denmark, she is so infatuated with Dudley that nothing will ever induce her to give him up.

'You will not think me inconsistent if at one time you hear I am quarrelling with her, at another that all is confidence and smooth speeches. You remember the advice of Pontius the Samnite when he had the Romans in the valley—either to feast them and let them go, or to cut all their throats.'¹

The story returns to Leslie and Lord James, who had left Scotland on their separate errands to Mary Stuart, who was then with the Cardinal of Lorraine at St. Dizier. Leslie was first in the field. He had crossed by

¹ *MS. Simancas.*

Brille, while Lord James went round by London. As the spokesman of the Gordons, the Athols, the Sutherlands, the Setons, and the Catholic clergy, Leslie invited the Queen to put herself at the head of her natural friends; to arrest at Paris the false brother who aimed at stealing her crown; and with their assistance to crush the heretics and traitors who had sold their country to the Saxon.

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The two
messengers
to the
Queen of
Scots.

Had the armies of France been at her command, had there been no England, and no title in question to the English crown, Mary Stuart would doubtless have consented. But she regarded Scotland as the stepping-stone to a higher ambition; the experience of the past year had taught her the danger of violent methods, and she preferred a surer if a longer road. The party who were offering her their services would be her friends at all events; their loyalty was secured by their necessity. Her own policy was to win their opponents the friends of England, to work on their disappointed hopes, and to make their ambition the instrument of her own. Perhaps there was no one in the world whom she more heartily hated than her half-brother; but Leslie returned with a grateful refusal of his proposals, and Lord James who arrived at St. Dizier the day after his departure was affectionately welcomed. In spite of the opposition of Knox, he was empowered by the Estates to offer her the free exercise of her religion. With this condition alone, she professed her readiness to return to Scotland. Lord James tried ineffectually to gain her over to the creed of the Congregation, and his sister in return tempted him with profuse offers of money, benefices, and cardinals' hats, with equal unsuccess. But their differences did not affect the terms on which they parted; for, although he was so far true to Elizabeth as to urge her

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to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, he was not prepared to insist upon it; and in that one concession she read his own and his party's weakness. The boy-king of France was about to be crowned at Rheims. She proposed to sail immediately after the ceremony; and so heartily she seemed to throw herself on her brother, that she offered to make him Regent of Scotland till her return.

To extort from Mary Stuart the abandonment of her pretensions to the Crown of England; and for this alone, Elizabeth had encountered the cost and peril of the Scottish war; yet even Lord James who of all the Scots was least careless of his obligations, ventured to write to her, after leaving his sister, on the point on which she was most sensitive; and to reveal in language of which the hesitation of expression could not obscure the meaning, the part which he and his countrymen were prepared to play.

The Queen of Scots had claimed a present right to Elizabeth's throne; the Commissioners at Leith had resigned those pretensions in her name; and the Scots themselves were of all men in the world the last who should have countenanced her in evading her engagements. But their hungry pride was too strong for their honour.

Lord James
Stuart
the English
succession.

'You are two young and excellent Queens,' Lord James wrote to Elizabeth, 'whose sex will not permit you to advance your glory by war and bloodshedding. You ought to love each other. Neither of you both is ignorant from what root the contrary affection doth proceed. I wish to God the Queen my Sovereign had never taken in hand to pretend interest in, or claim title to, your Majesty's realm. Then you should have been

and continued friends. But since on her part something hath been thought of it, I fear that unless that root is removed, it shall ever breed unkindness. Your Majesty cannot yield, and she may on the other part think it hard, being so nigh of the blood of England, so to be made a stranger from it. Is there any midway possible? I have thought long of it, but never durst speak of it. What if your Majesty's title did remain untouched, as well for yourself, as for the issue of your body? Inconvenient were it to provide that to the Queen my Sovereign her own place was reserved in the succession to the Crown of England—which your Majesty will pardon me if I take to be next by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry the Seventh; and in the meantime the isle to be united in perpetual friendship?'¹

'I will acknowledge your present rights,' Mary Stuart virtually said to Elizabeth, 'when you will acknowledge me your successor, and not till then:' and in this language it was plain that all parties in Scotland—treaty or no treaty,—were prepared to support her.

If it be asked why Elizabeth should have made a difficulty in consenting, the answer was but too ready. The 'inconvenience' of which Lord James spoke, would in all likelihood have been her immediate assassination.

Dangers to which the recognition of Mary would expose Elizabeth.

Already it had been found necessary to surround her with precautions against poison. Not an untasted dish might be brought to her table; not a glove or a hand.

¹ Lord James Stuart to Queen Elizabeth, August 6.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House*. This letter was written before Mary's return to Scotland, though several months after Lord

James was at St. Dizier. It may be taken to represent the feelings of the most moderate members of the Scotch Estates.

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kerchief might approach her person which, had not been scrutinized, and she was dosed weekly with supposed antidotes.¹ In spite of precaution, the secret adherents of France, of the Papacy, and the Queen of Scots, held places in the royal household, and attended in the royal bedchamber. With the prize of the succession once secured, the Catholics would have made haste with their opportunity, lest Elizabeth should marry and destroy their hopes.

More peremptorily than ever therefore Throgmorton was now instructed, to demand the ratification of the treaty. On this condition, and this alone, could Elizabeth look forward without misgiving to Mary Stuart's return. As boldly Mary Stuart refused. While the ground was shaking about her, she had made pretexts for delay.

Mary Stuart
again de-
clines to
ratify the
treaty.

Secure now of her subjects' support, she was able to answer resolutely that she could not act in such a matter without their consent; and Throgmorton who understood both her and her position to the very letter, implored Elizabeth to lose no time and spare no money in recovering the attachment of the reforming Lords in Scotland. Perilous schemes were on foot for a marriage between the Queen of Scots and Don Carlos of Spain. The English Catholics were longing for it; de Quadra had urged it upon Granvelle as the one true remedy for all evils.² 'Your jealousy,' wrote Throgmorton, 'must be cast upon Spain, Austria, and the Queen of Scotland. There lieth the danger and nowhere else. Retain the best party in Scotland, and no prince nor state can do you harm. If Scotland be at your devotion, oh!

¹ Minutes from the Queen's person, March 1561. In Cecil's hand. BURLEIGH Papers, vol. i.

² De Quadra to Granvelle, August 2.—MS. Simancas.

happy, England. It is the most happy state in Christendom.'¹

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Elizabeth 'unfortunately was still struggling in de Quadra's' bird-nets. As late as the 15th of July, Cecil deplored the increasing credit with her of the Spanish ambassador. There were secrets between them which he could not penetrate; only he knew that de Quadra 'seemed to seek by all means, overt and covert, to further the marriage,' and 'to procure the Lord Robert to have evil thoughts of himself.' Matters were so 'perilous,' that he scarcely dared to write about them. 'Happy they,' he exclaimed, 'that live *extra tali jacturam*.'²

At this time Europe believed Elizabeth hopelessly abandoned to a passion which was dragging her to disgrace. The Huguenot leaders had ceased to rest their hopes on her; and Mary Stuart anticipated nothing but a splendid and speedy triumph.³ To the reiterated demands of Throgmorton for the ratification, she replied at last that she would send M. d'Oysel to London with a satisfactory answer. D'Oysel went, but he carried with him, instead of satisfaction, a request merely that the Queen of Scots, on her way to Edinburgh, might be allowed to pass through England. Elizabeth was not yet entirely infatuated. To have allowed a Catholic princess, a rival claimant of her crown, who in defiance of promises was obstinately

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, May 1561.
—CONWAY MSS.

² Cecil to Throgmorton, July 15.
—CONWAY MSS.

³ 'By the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, and by others of reputation for virtue and learning, it hath been

told me that the good opinion conceived of her Majesty for her religion, virtue, and wisdom, doth much decay; and that the great good devotion borne her aforesometimes doth marvellously turn. The causes you can guess.'—Throgmorton to Cecil, June 23.—MS. *Ibid*.

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JulyElizabeth
refuses to
allow Mary
Stuart to
pass
through
England.

maintaining her pretensions, to pass three hundred miles through a population the most notoriously Romanist in the realm, and with many of whom the Queen of Scots was already in communication, would have been an act of political suicide. D'Oysel professed, in Mary Stuart's name, the utmost cordiality and good-will; but the single evidence of good-will which Elizabeth could receive was withheld. She replied that, when the treaty was ratified, she would receive her sister with pleasure; so long as the ratification was refused, smooth words could not be taken in exchange for it, and could scarcely be believed to be sincere.

D'Oysel himself was but half faithful to his employer; he allowed the English Council to see how just he considered their suspicions. A letter of the Queen of Scots to Maitland fell into their hands, in which she invited him to undo his work, and break the alliance with England which he had been the chief instrument in forming.¹ The position which the Scots were prepared to assume gradually forced itself on Elizabeth's mind; and before the French ambassador left London, she herself, or Cecil in her name, gave the Estates at Edinburgh to understand her opinion of their conduct.

She had dealt openly with them, she said, as all the world knew; she had saved their freedom and defended their religion; while she had asked for nothing for herself and had meddled with nothing. The treaty was a witness of her disinterestedness; and the Queen of Scots had promised that it should be ratified.

'Nevertheless,' she continued, 'how it happeneth we know not, your sovereign—either not knowing in this

¹ The Queen of Scots to Maitland, June 29.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

part her own felicity, or else dangerously seduced by perverse council—being of late at sundry times required by us, according to her bond remaining with us, signed with her own hand, and sealed with the Great Seal of the realm, and allowed by you being the Estates of the same, to ratify the said treaty, maketh such dilatory answers thereto as what we shall judge thereof we perceive that it is meet to require of you. Her answer dependeth, as it should seem by her words, upon your opinion; and we cannot but plainly let you all understand that this manner of answer, without some more fruit, cannot long content us. We have meant well to our sister your Queen; and, having promised to keep good peace with her and you her subjects, we have hitherto observed it, and shall be sorry if either she or you shall give us contrary cause. In a matter so profitable to both the realms, we think it strange that your Queen hath no better advice. We therefore require you all, being the Estates of that realm, to consider this deeply, and make us answer whereto we may trust; and if you think it meet that your Queen shall leave the peace imperfect, by breaking of her solemn promise, contrary to the order of all princes, we shall be well content to accept your answer; and shall be as careless to see the peace kept as ye shall give us cause; and we doubt not, by the grace of God, that whosoever of you shall incline thereto shall soonest repent.¹

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July

Letter of
Elizabeth
to the
Scotch
Estates.

After this admonition—as natural as it was, imprudent—to the Scots, Elizabeth dismissed d'Oysel, bidding him return and tell his mistress to come to England

¹ The Queen's Majesty to the Estates of Scotland, July 1.—*Scotch MSS.*
(In Cecil's hand).

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1561
July

when her promise had been fulfilled, and find all hospitality and assistance there. Till that was done, with all regret for the seeming discourtesy, her duty to herself and to the realm compelled her to refuse the Queen of Scots' request.¹

Mary Stuart was evidently unprepared for the answer; she had anticipated a semi-regal progress through the northern counties. She was mortified to find she was not to see them, 'save under conditions which would have turned her triumph into a defeat. She wrapped her disappointment in a sentimental mist; she represented herself as a harmless widow, 'impeached of her passage;' and both she and the Queen-mother assailed Throgmorton with all the resources of feminine ingenuity. The ambassador coldly adhered to his commission; to passionate reproaches he had but one answer—'Ratify the treaty;' and at length, when hard pressed, he told Catherine de Medici that 'the insincere dealing of the Queen of Scots was too plain and palpable, and his mistress could not suffer a matter so dangerous to herself and her state to pass unprovided for.'

It was now uncertain whether Mary Stuart might attempt the passage of the Channel. The attitude which she had chosen to assume was an act of war against Elizabeth; and to seize her and carry her prisoner to London, would have been consistent with the strictest interpretation of the law of nations. The English Court no doubt hoped that the fear alone might detain the Queen of Scots in France; and Mary herself told Throgmorton that, had her arrangements been less far advanced, Elizabeth's unkindness might have induced her to post-

¹ The Queen's Majesty's answer to d'Oysel, July 15.—*Scotch MSS.*

pone her journey. . With the deprecating pathos of which she was so accomplished a mistress, she said that if she was driven by foul weather into an English port, her sister would have her in her hands, to sacrifice her if she was hard-hearted enough to desire it. It might be better for her to die than to live.

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July

Ever graceful, ever charming, never losing an opportunity of winning an Englishman's heart, she embraced the ambassador at her last parting from him at Abbeville, and asked him again if there was no way by which she could gain her sister's confidence.

Once more, the hard-hearted Throgmorton, immovable as flint, replied, 'Ratify.'

Thus they parted. Unable to take the English route, the brave woman had resolved to sail direct for Leith, running all risks, and believing that with the escort of three of her uncles and of d'Amville the heir of the Montmorencies, Elizabeth would not dare to meddle with her.

She was going, cost her what it might—going on an errand which cannot now be separated in remembrance from its tremendous end; and Mary Stuart's name will never be spoken of in history, however opinions may vary on the special details of her life, without sad and profound emotion.

She was not yet nineteen years old; but mind and body had matured amidst the scenes in which she had passed her girlhood. Graceful alike in person and in intellect, she possessed that peculiar beauty in which the form is lost in the expression, and which every painter therefore has represented differently.

Rarely perhaps has any woman combined in herself so many noticeable qualities as Mary Stuart; with a

Mary
Stuart.

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feminine insight into men, and things, and human life, she had cultivated herself to that high perfection, in which accomplishments were no longer adventitious ornaments, but were wrought into her organic constitution. Though luxurious in her ordinary habits, she could share in the hard field life of the huntsman or the soldier with graceful cheerfulness; she had vigour, energy, tenacity of purpose, with perfect and never-failing self-possession; and, as the one indispensable foundation for the effective use of all other qualities, she had indomitable courage. She wanted none either of the faculties necessary to conceive a great purpose, or of the abilities necessary to execute it, except perhaps only this, that while she made politics the game of her life, it was a game only though played for a high stake. In the deeper and nobler emotions she had neither share nor sympathy.

Here lay the vital difference of character between the Queen of Scots and her great rival, and here was the secret of the difference of their fortunes. In intellectual gifts, Mary Stuart was at least Elizabeth's equal; and Anne Boleyn's daughter, as she said herself, was 'no angel.' But Elizabeth could feel like a man an unselfish interest in a great cause; Mary Stuart was ever her own centre of hope, fear, or interest; she thought of nothing, cared for nothing, except as linked with the gratification of some ambition, some desire, some humour of her own; and thus Elizabeth was able to overcome temptations, before which Mary fell.

Yet at the present crisis, even the moral balance was in favour of the Scottish Queen. While her sister, of England was trifling with an affection, for which foolish is too light an epithet, Mary Stuart, when scarcely more than a girl, was about to throw herself alone into the midst of the most turbulent people in Europe, fresh emerged

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August

out of revolution, and loitering in the very rear of civilization; she was going among them to use her charms as a spell to win them back to the Catholic Church, to weave the fibres of a conspiracy from the Orkneys to the Land's End, prepared to wait, to control herself, to hide her purpose, till the moment came to strike; yet with a purpose fixed as the stars, to trample down the Reformation, and to seat herself at last on Elizabeth's throne.

'Whatever policy,' said Randolph of her, 'is in all the chief and best-practised heads in France, whatever craft, falsehood, or deceit, is in all the subtle brains of Scotland, is either fresh in this woman's memory, or she can fette it with a wet finger.'

Such was Mary Stuart, when, on the 14th of August, she embarked for Scotland. The Cardinals of Guise and Lorraine attended her to Calais. Three other uncles, d'Elbœuf, d'Aumale, and the Grand Prior, embarked with her to see her safe to Edinburgh; and with '*Adieu, belle France,*' sentimental verses, and a passionate Châtelar sighing at her feet in melodious music, she sailed away over the summer seas.

The English fleet was on her track, sent out nominally to suppress piracy, yet with dubious orders, like those with which Winter had before sailed for the Forth. There was no command to arrest her, yet there was the thought that 'she might be met withal;' and if the admiral had sent her ship with its freight to the bottom of the North Sea, 'being done unknown,' Elizabeth, and perhaps Catherine de Medici as well, 'would have found it afterwards well done.'

Scotland meanwhile expected her coming with mingled

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August

The Scotch
Protestants
are un-
certain of
Elizabeth.

alarm, curiosity, and exultation. Maitland, it seems, notwithstanding his disappointment about Arran, would still have adhered to the English alliance could he have been sure of Elizabeth. He thoroughly understood Mary Stuart's intentions. He was unprepared to desert the Reformation. 'If the Queen of England will go through with us,' he wrote on the 1st of August to Cecil, 'we will be bold enough.' His hope was that the Queen of Scots would come at once to open war with the Protestants; but he feared 'she would proceed by indirect means, and nothing was so dangerous with the Scots as temporizing.' On the 9th of August Randolph reported that the Congregation, feeling themselves 'without friends abroad,' and with few 'in whom they might assuredly trust at home,' were at a loss what course to take. They did not know what Elizabeth meant to do, or whether to religion, as they had established it, she was a friend or an enemy. She was known to hate Knox so cordially that it was feared she might assist Mary Stuart to destroy him; and Knox himself wrote to her with some irony to suggest that the Queen of Scots was not believed 'so unfeignedly to favour the tranquillity of her Majesty's reign and realm,' that by ridding Scotland of himself she would be doing her own cause good service.¹

More distinct, graphic, and remarkable are two letters from Maitland to Cecil, written on the 10th and 15th of August. 'If,' said Maitland, speaking of the presence of the English fleet in the Channel, 'the Queen's galleys were to be allowed quietly to pass, it would have been better if the passport had been liberally granted.' It was at once

¹ Randolph to Cecil, August 9.—COTTON MSS., CALIG. B. 10. Knox to Elizabeth, August 6.—MS. Rolls House.

useless and unwise to have 'opened their pack, and sold none of their wares,' 'or to have declared themselves enemies to those whom they could not or would not offend.' 'If the Queen of Scots was not interfered with she would come among them more irritated against England than ever,' and her appearance 'could not fail to raise wonderful tragedies.' The Protestants might seem to have the upper hand, but there were 'numbers who would be glad to see them overturned, and numbers who would lend their hands to overthrow them.' Mary Stuart would proceed warily: she would first 'undermine the English alliance,' which could be done without difficulty. The Papists hated it without disguise; of the rest, 'some were lukewarm,' some were 'so accustomed to feed on French fare that their stomachs could digest no other,' some would 'be bribed,' some would 'be led by the mere presence of their sovereign to do as she desired,' and many more would care only for their present comfort and convenience.

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AugustExpected
consequences of
Mary
Stuart's
return.

A few there were, undoubtedly, 'who would constantly bear out what they had begun,' but their position would be full of difficulty. So long as the Queen was absent they could hold their ground; but Cecil could judge 'what the presence of a princess, craftily counselled, could bring to pass.' 'She would bide her time.' At first she would quarrel with no one, but she would work her way by degrees. 'Where the accusation of religion would be odious, she would charge the Protestant lords with betraying their country to England.' 'A few thus disgraced and despatched, the rest would be an easy prey, and then might the butchery of Bonner plainly begin.'

Maitland did not wish, he said, that she should be deprived of her kingdom; but he would have 'such things as were necessary to be provided in time,' 'that

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August

neither might she, by following the advice of God's enemies, lose her subjects' hearts, nor those who tended the glory of God and the liberty of their country, be made the sons of death.'

The prelude, couched in language which Cecil would most approve, led up to the conclusion which every Scot was most desiring; Maitland was an old chess-player, and knew better than most men how to mask his game.

Maitland
desires the
recognition
of Mary
Stuart as
heir to the
English
crown.

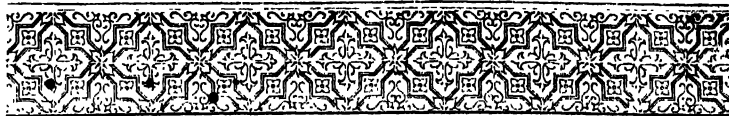
There was but one way, he said, to preserve the alliance of the realms, and this he rather indicated than affirmed, was the recognition of the Queen of Scots as Elizabeth's successor.¹ This alone would satisfy the vanity of the Scottish nation; this would secure all hearts and smooth all difficulties. Elizabeth might then guide them as she pleased, and the Queen of Scots would be powerless.

Nothing else would answer. Half the Lords were 'Papists unapt for Council,' and 'were stirred up privily and comforted by the Queen to disallow the rest.' 'If the Reforming leaders attempted to thwart her, by eschewing Scylla they would fall into Charybdis.'

'I pray you,' the letter concluded, 'let me in this point have your advice; and let me know what the Queen's Majesty will think. Aneit the continuance of the amity between the realms, there is no danger of breach so long as the Queen is absent; and if all men were persuaded, as I am, and did consider the consequence, little peril would be after her coming; but her presence may alter many things.'²

¹ 'On the 25th of October he explained his meaning fully.'—*Vide infra*.

² Maitland to Cecil, August 10, August 15, and October 25.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.



CHAPTER V.

THE galley which bore Mary Stuart and her fortunes reached the Forth without accident, after an uneasy passage of four days. The English vessels saw their prey pass by, and dared not stoop upon it. The Queen of Scotland landed on the pier of Leith on the morning of the 19th of August.

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1561
August

Mary
Stuart lands
in Scotland.

Though her coming had been so long talked of, her appearance took her people by surprise. They had made no preparation for her, and Holyrood Palace lay among its meadows, with the black precipices of Salisbury Crag frowning over it, like a deserted ruin.

But the Princess who was returning to make her home there was not to be made unhappy by small discomforts. She established herself amidst laughter and kind words, in a few hurriedly-arranged rooms. The Puritan citizens serenaded her, through her first night with psalm tunes, and she thanked them for their kindness. The dreaded harlot of Babylon seemed only an innocent and graceful girl, throwing herself with confiding trust upon the loyalty and love of her subjects. Her mother's friends expected to be recalled to power. To the surprise of all men, she chose for her chief advisers her brother and Maitland. She issued a proclamation forbidding the Catholics to attempt changes in

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August

the established religion. For herself only she pleaded rather than insisted that the promise made to her by the Estates should be observed; and that for the present she might have her own service in the Royal Chapel.

What sour austerity could refuse a request so gracefully urged? The Master of Lindsay and the gentlemen of Fife might croak out texts that 'the idolator should die the death;' Knox might protest that 'one mass was more terrible to him than ten thousand armed men.' The Council were Scots as well as Protestants—they could not 'force the Queen's conscience, and drive her back to France.' Lord James Stuart stood on guard at the chapel door while mass was being sung. Lord John and Lord Robert, her other brothers, took charge of the priests. The Puritan noblemen came in from the country full of spirited indignation. A few hours of Mary's presence charmed them into loyal toleration.

Mary
Stuart
makes
friends.

'Now, my lord,' said Campbell of Kingsancleugh to Lord Ochiltree, 'are ye come last of all the rest; and I perceive by your anger that the fire edge is not off you yet, but I fear, after the holy water of the court be sprinkled on you, ye shall become as temperate as the rest. I have been here five days, and at the first I heard every man say let us hang the priest; but after they had been twice or thrice at the abbey, all that fervency was past. I think there is some enchantment whereby men are bewitched.'

Maitland's prophecy was fulfilled more quickly perhaps than he could have himself expected. Even Knox himself Mary Stuart did not despair of subduing. With

¹ KNOX; *History of the Reformation*, Book iv.

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clear, collected presence of mind she desired to comprehend her situation exactly, and the resistance for which she had to look; and she took the opportunity of a sermon which he preached at St. Giles's against the mass, the Sunday after her arrival, to measure her strength with her most dangerous enemy.

She sent for him, and inquired first about his book 'on the regiment of women.' He said it had been written against the Jezebel of England, and times were changed. His opinion was unaltered, but it was an opinion only on which he had no intention of acting.

Conver-
sation
between the
Queen of
Scots and
Knox.

She spoke of the rebellion and of the new creed which, in spite of princes and governments, was thrusting itself by force upon the world.

The power of princes had its limits, the Reformer said. Subjects could not frame their religion according to appetites of sovereigns. The Israelites in Egypt were not of the religion of Pharaoh; Daniel and St. Paul were not of the religion of Nebuchadnezzar and Nero.

She might have resented the comparison, but she contented herself with replying that none of those 'had resisted with the sword.' But Knox answered merely that 'God had not given them the power;' and when she pressed him to say whether he thought subjects might resist their sovereign, he used the comparison which, in the next century, became the Puritan formula. If a father went mad, and offered to kill his children, his children might tie his hands and take his weapon from him: in like manner, if princes would murder the children of God, it was no disobedience to restrain them from their evil purpose.

Relations
between
Princes and
subjects.

Thus spoke Calvinism, the creed of republics, in its first hard form. If princes became enemies of God, God's servants owed them no allegiance. The question

CHAP V who was to be the judge, was left as usual in such cases,
 1561 for every one to decide for himself.
 August

The Queen sat for some time silent. Fearless as Knox himself, she was measuring with keen precocity the spirit with which she had to deal. She did not mean to quarrel with him, but she could not wholly restrain herself.

‘My subjects then,’ she said at length, ‘are to obey you, and not me. I am subject to them, not they to me.’

‘Nay,’ he replied, ‘let prince and subject both obey God. Kings should be foster fathers of the Kirk, and queens its nursing mothers.’

‘You are not the kirk that I will nurse,’ she said. ‘I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for that, I think, is the Kirk of God.’

‘Your will, madam,’ Knox answered, ‘is no reason, neither does your thought make the Roman harlot the spouse of Jesus Christ.’

So these two parted, each with some insight into the other’s nature.

‘If there be not in her,’ said Knox afterwards, ‘a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me.’

‘He made her weep,’ said Randolph, in describing the interview to Cecil; ‘as well you know there be of that sex that will do that for anger as well as grief. You exhort us to stoutness. The voice of that one man is able to put more life in us in one hour than five hundred trumpets blustering in our ears.’ The same day Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were burnt in effigy in Edinburgh; and but for Lord Huntly’s interference, the people were minded to have had a priest burnt at the altar at the elevation.¹

¹ Randolph to Cecil.—COTTON MSS., CALIG. B. 10.

Very swiftly Mary Stuart understood her situation.

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September

In Scotland, as throughout Europe, the Reformation was the creed of the towns, of the merchants, the tradesmen, and the artisans. It had grown with their growth; it was the expression of their thoughts; and between them and the Catholic Queen there was a chasm which no ingenuity could bridge over. Half a dozen noblemen at most were really Protestants, and even these were still liable to be influenced by many motives external to religion—by patriotism, by national pride, by loyalty, chivalry, and the natural courtesy of gentlemen. The residue of the lords and gentlemen who acted with the Congregation believed only in Protestantism as an excuse for laying hands upon the Church lands; and they dreaded a Catholic reaction only because reaction menaced their chance of filling their lean purses.

The Queen had only therefore to avoid creating alarm by a display of Catholic fanaticism, and her course would be comparatively easy. It was useless to contend against the Reformation so long as England was a Protestant power; but the mass of her own subjects was ready to support her claims on the English succession. The reversion of the crown once secured the English Catholics would rally to her; Philip in all likelihood would give her Don Carlos for a husband, and the rest would speedily follow. Or if Don Carlos was unattainable, there was Lord Darnley, the favourite at present among the great English nobility; and the union of the two claims would bring with it double strength. A thousand causes recommended Darnley to the Scots. He was the heir of two great houses, and would command the feudal allegiance of the families of Lennox and Douglas. Before Mary's return, his busy mother Lady

Mary Stuart's opportunities and hopes.

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1561
September

Margaret had sounded Seton, Huntly, Sutherland, and others of the Catholic nobles, on the marriage. Seton had replied 'that he would not only spend his living, but give his blood, towards setting forth the Lord Darnley ;'¹ and a few days only after the Queen's landing, the Earl of Sutherland introduced to her a special messenger, Arthur Lilliard, Darnley's tutor, with a direct proposal from Lady Margaret herself.

Proposed
marriage
between
Mary
Stuart and
Darnley.

Lord Darnley was but a boy of fifteen, and Mary Stuart's ambition soared to the Spanish throne ; but he might be useful as a resource if her other expectations failed her. She received Lilliard characteristically, 'sitting on an old trunk.' She asked innumerable questions of his pupil's 'stature, age, qualities, abilities, and of my Lady Lennox's friends in England and Scotland ;' and she dismissed him at last without a definite answer, but with an impression that he had been favourably received.²

She kept her counsel so well that no hint of this interview reached the ears of Knox or Randolph. The next step was to send Maitland to Elizabeth with formal messages of courtesy, and to make her understand the conditions on which, and on which alone, the two countries could continue on good terms. Unterrified by 'Elizabeth's threats, the Lords added a message of their own, in which, so far from expressing any willingness to enforce on their sovereign the ratification of the treaty, they showed the most distinct determination to stand by her if Elizabeth insisted on it. Their mistress, they said, was ready to forgive the ungenerous

¹ Articles against Lady Lennox.—*Domestic MSS.*, ELIZ., vol. xxiii. *Rolls House*.

² *Ibid*.

refusal of the passage through England; but 'if it should chance, as God forbid! that the Queen of England would use any discourtesy towards the Queen their sovereign, or give occasion on her part to violate the good amity and peace between their two Majesties, she might be well assured that they, acknowledging themselves to be her subjects, would not forget their duty for the maintenance of the Queen their sovereign's just quarrel.'

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1561
September

It was fortunate for the Queen of Scotland's prospects that the bearer of this communication found Elizabeth in the first tumult of anger and agitation at the discovery of a domestic scandal. According to the will of Henry the Eighth it will be remembered that the next heir to the Crown, after Elizabeth and her children, was the Lady Catherine Grey. The reader has seen this lady coquetting with the Count de Feria and the Spaniards, professing Catholic principles, and speculating on an escape to Flanders. Her faith however if she had any, sat lightly on her, for about the time that Mary Stuart sailed for Scotland she was discovered to be enceinte; and on inquiry she declared herself the wife of Lord Hertford, the eldest son of the Protestant Protector. There were reasons for believing that the marriage was no mere act of folly, but that it was connected with secret political combinations. Hertford who was amusing himself in Paris, was instantly sent for, Lady Catherine was committed to the Tower, and the Queen wrote to the Lieutenant, Sir Edward Warner, that 'there had been great practices and purposes; that many persons of high rank were known to have been

Lady Catherine Grey is discovered to be enceinte.

¹ Instructions to the Laird of Liddington, by the Queen of Scots. Instructions to the same by the Lords of Scotland, September 1561.—KEITH.

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1561
September

privy to the marriage; and that he must make Lady Catherine understand she should have no favour shown her unless she confessed the truth.

Marriage of
Lady Catherine
Grey
and Lord
Hertford.

Archbishop Parker untied the knot, so far as the Church could do it—declaring the ceremony invalid, and the child to be born illegitimate. But the Queen's anger refused to be appeased; Hertford followed his wife into the Tower, to linger there for years. Elizabeth never justified her severity by condescending to explanations; but her unhappy cousin, it is likely, was expiating the faults of others whom it was less easy to punish.

The affair, according to de Quadra, took place when Sir Henry Sidney made the first move about the Dudley marriage. The Queen was then believed to be so infatuated that there was no hope of saving her; both Lord Robert and she were known to be making advances to Spain; and Bedford and the Protestants joined themselves with Arundel and Lord Robert's personal enemies to marry the next heir to the son of the Protestant who was the hereditary enemy of the Dudleys. If the Queen married Lord Robert, a revolution was expected to follow, and these two were to be the nucleus of a new party.

The secret mover was supposed to have been Cecil, who at that time was in disgrace at Court, and feared that the Queen was about to abandon the Reformation. As soon however as Cecil was assured that the established religion was in no danger, he had withdrawn his countenance; the conspiracy, if conspiracy there was, was allowed to drop; and the marriage itself would perhaps never have been heard of except for its unfortunate results.

A single glance below the surface, when the explosion

came, satisfied Elizabeth that it was dangerous to look further. Lord Robert insulted Arundel; Arundel replied with menacing allusions to Cumnor Hall. The inquiry was sullenly let drop; and the Queen wreaked her anger on the unlucky pair who had offended in being the instruments of the intrigue.¹

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September

Such is the version of this matter given by the Spanish ambassador, which the English records neither confirm nor discredit. Certain only it is that the discovery of the condition of the heiress presumptive, created in Elizabeth a burst of indignation; and the effect of it was to make her for the first time look with less disfavour on the rival pretensions of Mary Stuart. Maitland, on being admitted to an interview, dared to tell her in his own name, and in that of the whole Scottish nobility, that claims like those which his mistress possessed on the throne of England could not lightly be signed away. The Estates were unanimously of opinion that the Queen of Scots ought to be declared by Act of Parliament next in succession after Elizabeth and her children; and the ratification of the treaty must be made dependent on her consent.

Maitland demands the recognition of Mary Stuart.

Elizabeth urged the solemn promises which had been made by the commissioners, and the obligations of the Scots. 'The like,' she said, 'had never been demanded of any prince, to declare an heir presumptive in his lifetime.' Maitland answered that by the will of Henry the Eighth 'men had gone about to prevent the Providence of God, and shift the one in the place due to the

¹ De Quadra to Granvelle, September 6. De Quadra to Philip II., September 13.—*MS. Simancas*. Compare The Queen to Sir Ed. Warner, August 17.—*Burleigh Papers*, vol. i.

Cecil to Sussex, August 12.—WRIGHT'S *Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. Osborne to Chaloner, February 22, 1562.—*Domestic MSS.*, ELIZ., vol. xxi. *Rolls House*.

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1561
September

other ;' 'the Queen his mistress was next in blood, and would be content to hazard all rather than receive that dishonour to forego her right.'

Elizabeth was strangely tolerant. She said that such language was more like a threat than a request ; and if it was made a question of right, she had force at home and friends abroad to defend her. Were she to declare the Queen of Scots, her successor, she would make a rallying-point for every malcontent in the realm ; and, with no obscure intimation of her own probable fate, she said 'she was not so foolish as to hang a winding-sheet before her eyes, or make a funeral feast while she was alive.'

Maitland admitted the danger without however appearing to think it of sufficient consequence 'to impede so good a purpose.' He thought too she would secure by consenting the affection of the Scots, and on the whole that she would have the best of the bargain. 'Her gain was assured and in her hand if the treaty was ratified ; the gain of the Queen of Scots was only in possibility.'

Even this Elizabeth endured without expression of resentment. She refused positively to name Mary Stuart her successor, knowing that she would be signing her own death-warrant ; but she sent Maitland back with a promise that she would do nothing and allow nothing to be done, to prejudice the Queen of Scots' title.¹

With this cautious and forbearing answer Maitland returned to Edinburgh to find the smooth waters already disturbed. Presuming on her first success, the Queen had attempted to open the Chapel Royal for public

¹ BUCHANAN ; CALDERWOOD. — *Maitland to Cecil*, October 7 ; *Burleigh Papers*, vol. i.

Catholic service. The Protestant mob drove the priest from the altar 'with broken head and bloody ears.' The Earl of Huntly said at the Council that if the Queen would bid him do it 'he would set up the mass in three shires;' and the whole town was buzzing like a nest of angry hornets. • The remarkable political sagacity of Knox had looked Mary through and through. In a letter to Cecil he lamented that he had not been resolute from the first, and insisted that she should either leave the mass or leave the country. Maitland and Lord James were blinded; and as for the Queen, 'the Cardinal's lessons were so printed in her heart that substance and quality were likely to perish together.' 'I would be glad to be deceived,' he said; 'but I fear I shall not. In communication with her I espied such craft as I have not found in such age.'¹ •

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1561
September
Protestant
riots at
Edinburgh.

Mary Stuart however made haste to undo her mistake. Instead of supporting Huntly, she professed to defer entirely to the wishes of her subjects. The service at Holyrood should for the future be exclusively private; and on Maitland's return she expressed the warmest gratitude for her 'dear sister's' message. She wished she was a man that all differences might be settled by her marrying Elizabeth. She became so attentive to Randolph that she had almost disarmed his suspicions, till she revived them by offering him a pension and one of her ladies for a wife;² and Maitland was allowed to hint that even in religion, if her title was recognized, Elizabeth's persuasions might perhaps effect her conversion.³

¹ Knox to Cecil, October 7.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Randolph to Cecil, October 27.—*MS. Ibid.*

³ Maitland to Cecil, October 25.—*MS. Ibid.*

CHAP V

1561
October

In vain Knox protested that they were all deceived about her. 'It is astonishing,' Randolph wrote, 'to see how men change. I have to traffic now with other kind of merchants than before. They know the value of their wares, and in all places how the market goeth; and yet it seemeth wonder unto many that the whole state of this realm should be altered by a woman.'¹

Sir Peter Mewtas followed Maitland to Edinburgh to obtain a distinct understanding about the ratification. Mary told him that she desired nothing more than to be on good terms with her sister. She would ratify, she said; if the treaty was first revised by a Scotch and English commission; and she spoke with such apparent sincerity that the English Council, when Mewtas brought back her answer, were divided—Arundel, Mason, and others of the more moderate party 'thinking it meet for the good of quiet to hearken.'²

The Scots unquestionably would have agreed to no revision which did not imply an acknowledgment of the claims of their Queen. They were supporting Mary Stuart in refusing to admit Elizabeth's present right to her own Crown. The single clause in the treaty to which she really objected was that which Cecil had extorted with so much difficulty, and her obstinate resolution bore the worst construction: yet the attitude of the Scots, and Catherine Grey's misdemeanours combined to induce Elizabeth to make the best of it, and yield to the utmost which her own safety would permit. She replied in a letter to Mary in which she expressed a sincere desire for the obliteration of unpleasant feelings between them: on her part she would do all which could be in reason

¹ Randolph to Cecil, October 27.—*MS. Rolls House.*

² Cecil to Throgmorton, November 4.—*CONWAY MSS.*

required of her; and, instead of appointing commissioners, she suggested that Mary Stuart should explain her objections to the treaty in a private letter to herself.¹

CHAP V
1561
November

Meeting frankness with frankness, Mary replied that she would speak as a sister to a sister: she had full confidence in Elizabeth's justice, and would show her the bottom of her heart. She was descended of the blood royal of England; she knew who and what she was, and she would be loath to receive such an injury as to be unjustly debarred from what might in possibility fall to her.²

While explaining herself with so much candour to Elizabeth, the Queen of Scots continued her advances to Randolph. She expressed a great wish to see England and to meet her sister; and as of course both Elizabeth's danger from recognizing her, and all objections which the English Council could entertain, would disappear on her conversion to the Reformation, Maitland first, and afterward Lord James Stuart, assured the English ambassador that her Catholicism was waning, and that she would yield gracefully when Elizabeth would condescend to reason with her.³ The Catholics themselves took the alarm. 'If the Queens meet,' wrote Randolph, 'the Papists think themselves utterly overthrown; they say plainly she cannot return a true Christian woman.'⁴ At all events, converted or unconverted, the Scotch people had set their minds so

Mary Stuart desires an interview with Elizabeth.

¹ Elizabeth to Mary Stuart, November 23.—*MS. Rolls House*.

² Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, Jan. 5, 1562.—*Ibid.*

³ 'After this I communed with the Lord James of all these purposes.

He liked them well; and he is of that opinion that the Lord of Liddington is, that she will never come to God before the Queen's Majesty draw her.'—*Randolph to Cecil. Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

CHAP V
1562

strongly on her recognition as heir presumptive to England, that Randolph durst not hint so much as a doubt of Elizabeth's compliance;¹ while Maitland told Cecil plainly that if there was further hesitation the Scots would be dangerously alienated, and implored him to further the great object which they had hitherto pursued in common—'the union of the isle.'²

Elizabeth, although she would make no promises, seemed to enter warmly into the proposal for an interview; and as it was understood that the meeting of the Queens, unless recognition followed, would do harm rather than good,³ it appeared as if she meant to give way. Her correspondence with Mary grew more and more cordial. In Maitland she recognized only a loyal servant of his mistress, and herself desired him to correspond closely and confidentially with Cecil.

Mary, on her side, gave the Protestants no more ground of complaint. She made Lord James Stuart, Lieutenant of the Border, and in January she deprived Huntly of the lands of Murray which he held informally under the Crown, and bestowed them on her brother.

The Catholic clergy were equally disappointed and dissatisfied. The preachers expected that the authority and the incomes of their predecessors would have been transferred to them unimpaired. Their wishes could not fully be gratified; and two-thirds of the property of the clergy was left in their hands, 'freely given to the devil,' as Knox expressed it. Of the remaining third the devil, according to the same authority, had his share also, for half of it

¹ Randolph to Cecil, January 2.—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Maitland to Cecil.—*MS. Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

went to the Crown; but the remaining half was actually given to the ministers;¹ and that an official provision, however scanty, should be made for them by the Queen, was regarded by the Church party as of fatal augury.

Her Council were never weary of praising her sincerity, and of insisting on her affection for England and Elizabeth. 'Either,' said Randolph, 'this Queen is truly well disposed to our Queen, or it is the deepest dissembled and the best conveyed that ever was; I refer the judg-

¹ The identification of the Catholic ecclesiastics in Scotland with the devil was not wholly a figure of speech. Randolph has left a description of some of their doings, which explains and justifies the passionate anger of the Reformers.

'The bishops,' he wrote, 'are so intolerably licentious of their lives, that it was no longer to be endured; and a better way to plague them there was none than to pluck at their livings, in special by her in whom their whole hope and trust was. I will be bold to trouble your honour with a merry tale. Cardanus, the Italian, took upon him the cure of the Bishop of St. Andrew's in a disease that unto all other men was judged desperato and incurable. He practised upon him divers strange inventions. He hung him certain hours in the day by the heels to cause him to avoid at the mouth that that other ways nature would not expel. He fed him many days with young whelps. He used him sometimes with extreme heats, and as many days with extreme colds. Before his departure he soundeth for the space of six days every day certain unknown words in his ears, and never used other medicine after.' It is said that at that time he did put a devil

within him, for that since he hath been even the better; and that the devil was given unto him of credit for nine years, so that now the time is near expired that either he must go to hell with his devil, or fall again into his old mischief to poison the whole country with his false practices. In token of repentance of his life, beside his old concubine taken from her married husband, he hath this year had (the devil, I trow, was father to the one or both) a couple of children. His bastard brother also, the Bishop of Argyle, hath now two women with child beside his wife. Of the Bishop of Dunblane it is shameful to speak: he spareth not his own daughter. The rest are like to these. The prelates with the rest of the clergy offered as great a sum for one year as that that the Queen hath taken for herself. But that seemeth less than she hath presently need of, her charges being great—all things extreme dear, and her Grace brought up in that licentious court that is without measure in charges. For these causes the wiser sort thought it better to be bold upon the kirkmen than to take of her people, or otherwise burden the realm.'—*Randolph to Cecil, January 15, 1562. Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

CHAP V
1562
January

ment to your honour, and attend myself the sequel—*nihil simulatum diuturnum.*"¹ Knox only remained obstinately incredulous. That Mary Stuart meant well to Elizabeth he as little believed as that she would ever 'embrace the English religion;' and it must be admitted that Knox was right, and all the rest were willingly deceiving themselves. While she was holding out hopes of her conversion, she was assuring the Pope that she would sooner die than forsake the Catholic faith. While she was expressing her passionate anxiety to please Elizabeth, she was scheming for the marriage which Elizabeth most dreaded for her with the Prince of Spain.²

Meantime European politics became every day more complicated. Had the Reformers in France made a moderate use of the opportunity which the death of

¹ Randolph to Cecil, January 30 and February 12; Maitland to Cecil, January 29; Lord James Stuart to Cecil, January 28.—*Scotch MSS.*

² M. de Moret, on his return from Scotland to Paris, said in London that the Protestant lords were passionately bent on securing the English succession, that they would countenance for the sake of it even a marriage with the son of Philip the Second. 'Moret tells me,' wrote the Spanish ambassador, 'that she looks to a great marriage for herself, and makes no concealment of her desire for the Prince our master. He says that he asked her how her heretics would like it. She told him they would like it very well; and although his religion might annoy them, their anxiety for the establishment of her right in this realm was so earnest, that they would make no difficulty about it, provided that it was understood that she would not leave Scotland till she

should have a child. Leaving an heir to the crown, she might then go where she would. This, Moret says, is the opinion of Lord James, and of the whole, or at least the majority, of the nobility, among whom there are many Catholics. He tells me moreover that the Queen of Scots assured him she was going on admirably with the Queen of England, who was holding out hopes of the succession to her. She is the more inclined to credit what the Queen of England says, because so many of the principal men in this country have sent to offer her their services. Further, he informs me that she is the bearer of letters from the Queen of Scots to the Pope, in which she tells his Holiness that she will sooner die than forsake her religion; and at the same time that she was thinking of opening a correspondence with myself.'—*De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma, January 3, 1562. MS. Simancas.*

Francis created for them, they might have won the confidence of the great national party. Catherine de Medici at one time dreaded the House of Guise more than she hated heresy. A strong heterodox element leavened the army; and by playing faction against faction she would have secured to France, in pursuing her own ends, a tempered and progressive liberty. But Calvinism, like all creeds which claim exclusive possession of truth, was violent, intolerant, and propagandist: it regarded Romanism as an enemy to be destroyed—if possible, by persuasion—if persuasion failed, by the sword. The exiles who had tasted democracy in Switzerland became the missionaries of a faith as much political as religious; and as anarchy became the order of the day, Montmorency and the Marshal St. André, the great Gallican leaders, drew more and more towards the Guises. The Cardinal of Lorraine demanded from the Parliament of Paris the revocation of the edicts of January. Confident of his power, he even challenged the Protestants to a public discussion before the court. Theodore Beza snatched eagerly at the gage; the Conference of Poissy followed, with three months of argument, recrimination, and at last of mere invective and abuse; and at length it became clear that the new religion was a thing which would either rule all France or must be itself extinguished.

CHAP V
1561

State of
parties in
France.

The Con-
ference of
Poissy.

Philip of Spain alarmed for the Netherlands, was irritated to the last degree at the folly of Poissy. He was leisurely burning his own homegrown heretics, and his last wish was to refer questions of doctrine to the hazard of argument. He desired Catherine to permit no more such exhibitions. He could not allow the Low Countries to be exposed to the contagion of revolution. He even threatened, if she forgot her duty, to send an army over the frontiers, and call to arms all the loyal Catholics

CHAP. V in France.¹ Civil war was evidently approaching; and
 1561 the Calvinists on their side made fresh advances to
 December England for assistance in a Protestant crusade.

The King of Navarre, unstable as water, had been drifting among the currents, uncertain what side to take: 'he changed with the wind;' 'he was afraid of his shadow.' At the end of November however he had been almost brought to promise to disallow the Council of Trent, and to agree to a separate Anglo-Gallican conference.² Even the Queen-mother notwithstanding Philip's menaces was supposed to incline in the same direction. The orthodox preachers at the palace were studiously slighted. During sermon Catherine de Medici went to sleep, the courtiers jested, the King played with his dog.³ 'Here is new fire,' wrote a correspondent of the English ambassadors from the Palace, 'here is new greenwood reeking; new smoke and much contrary wind blowing against Mr. Holy Pope; for in all haste the King of Navarre with his tribe will have another council, and the Cardinal stamps and takes on like a madman, and goeth up and down here to the Queen, then to the Cardinal of Tournon, with such unquieting in himself as all the house marvels at it.'⁴ All looked well at the Court for the prospects of the Protestants. The Duke of Guise held aloof in Lorraine; d'Elbœuf continued in Scotland with his niece; the halls of the guilds in Paris were appropriated for the Calvinist orations; and the Queen of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral, 'with

Prospects
of the
Huguenots.

¹ VARILLAS' *Histoire de Charles IX.*

² Throgmorton to Cecil, November 26.—CONWAY MSS.

³ Shakerly to Throgmorton, December 14.—MS. *Ibid.*

⁴ The Cardinal of Ferrara came from Rome to Paris in November as legate.

⁵ Shakerly to Throgmorton, December 16.—MS. *Ibid.*

great routs of ladies and gentlemen,' were daily and ostentatiously present.¹

CHAP V
1561
December

The difficulty in the formation of the league lay with Elizabeth, who would join it and would not join it, and changed her mind or her language from day to day. At one time in her affection for the Queen of Scots she made advances to the Guises; she offered her services to reconcile them with the King of Navarre, and even volunteered to take their part, if Navarre refused.² The Dudley love affair was still exhaling about her its fetid vapours. Lord Robert cared not the least with what party he connected himself, and while Elizabeth was corresponding with leaders of the Catholics, her lover addressed himself to the Huguenots, offering in his mistress's name and his own the assistance which they required, if they would countenance his marriage;³ while to the Spanish ambassador again, he affected that he was but 'practising;' that his true devotion was to the King of Spain; that both the Queen and he were as anxious as ever to receive one another from Philip's hands.

The Dudley marriage once more.

De Quadra incredulous but amused, desired to have his words confirmed by the Queen herself.

'I asked her,' he wrote, in describing the interview to Philip, 'I asked her what your Majesty was to do. She said she could not marry a man whom she had not

¹ Sir N. Throgmorton to Chaloner, December 20.—*Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

² 'Esta Reyna procura y solicita la reconciliacion de Vendosme con los de Guisa, la qual trata por medio de la Reyna de Escocia, ofreciendoles quanto quieren hasta decir que si Vendosme quisiere agraviarlos ella se pondra de su parte dellos.'—*De*

Quadra to Philip, January 31, 1562. MS. Simancas.

³ 'A Vendosme su hermano y el almirante de Francia M. Roberto ha escrito y enviado segredamente á tratar con ellos amistad y confederacion, prometiendole ellos de ayudar y asistir en lo de su casamiento con la Reyna.'—*De Quadra to Philip, November 27, 1561. MS. Ibid.*

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1561
December

seen; it was likely therefore that she would have to marry a subject, and she knew no one better fitted to be her husband than Lord Robert. She would be grateful, therefore, if the princes, her allies, and especially your Majesty, would recommend him to her, that she might be able to say that she was acting with the advice and approval of her friends. 'Seeing that I did not respond very warmly, she added that it was merely for appearance sake; whether your Majesty consented or not, she would marry Lord Robert when she chose; but if it was done without your Majesty's help, Lord Robert would be little obliged to you.'

'I laughed and said she had better make no more delays or excuses. Let her give Lord Robert what he wanted, and she might assure herself your Majesty would be well pleased.'

Whatever explanation may be offered of these vagaries, the effect at the time was only to make all parties distrust Elizabeth alike. 'I wish,' exclaimed Cecil, in utter despondency, 'I wish she had counsellors of more credit and weight than I; parasites and flatterers do more hurt to princes than any beasts of the field, and I, poor soul, am forced to bear the blows and stings of these scorpions.'

The King of
Navarre is
reconciled
to the
Church

Elizabeth's vacillation may have occasioned, and may excuse a change in France which altered the relations of parties, and the entire circumstances of the approaching

¹ De Quadra to Philip. About the time of this conversation Henry Killigrew wrote to Throgmorton — 'This afternoon my Lord Robert and my Lord Windsor, shooting a match in the park, the Queen's Majesty stole out upon them, only accompanied with Kate Carey and two

others, whom she followed as a maid, and told my Lord Robert, openly, that he was beholden unto her, for that she had passed the pikes for his sake. It seemeth his favour began but now.'—*November 26. CONWAY MSS.*

² Cecil to Throgmorton, November 27.—*CONWAY MSS.*

struggle. The King of Navarre suddenly abandoned his party, and went over to the Catholics.

CHAP V

1562
January

The explanation of his apostasy was as simple as it was base: Navarre had no confidence in the success of his cause and he cared little in his heart for anything but women and vanity. If he would separate himself from Condé and the Admiral, Philip offered him the island of Sardinia in compensation for his own lost kingdom, while a further hope was dangled before his eyes that the Pope would divorce him from his Huguenot wife: he might then marry Mary Stuart, and be King of England and Scotland.¹ Puzzled by Elizabeth's uncertainty, alarmed, and perhaps irritated, by the double dealing of the wretched Lord Robert, he yielded to the temptation. As first prince of the blood, lieutenant-general, and quasi-guardian of the King, he carried with him the authority of the Court; and Condé and Chatillon were reduced once more into the position of rebels.

So stood matters in France in the opening of the year 1562; and had Philip listened to the bold advice of Alva, de Quadra, and de Feria, he might have struck in to a purpose which would have changed many things.

'If his Majesty,' wrote de Quadra on the 27th of November to Granvelle, 'intends to interfere in France, he should first secure England, or at least create such divisions in England as shall prevent the Queen from taking part against him. If his Majesty thinks that with smooth words he can persuade the party now in power to alter their policy he deceives himself. They will never be friendly to us, and they will never be neutral. They are and will be the worst enemies that we can have. If

¹ VARILLAS.

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1562
January

they can, they will drive the King our sovereign from the Low Countries; and no inducement which the world can offer will move them from their purpose. Interest is nothing, and danger is nothing, in comparison with party spirit and religious passion. It is unsafe to delay longer. If we are to act to any purpose in France we must first act here; England once disposed of his Majesty can restore order elsewhere, at his leisure.’¹

Distress and
anger of
the English
Catholics.

‘Too late,’ might have been the motto of Philip of Spain. Instead of declaring openly for the Catholics, acknowledging Mary Stuart, and sending an armada into the Channel, his chief fear was that the English Catholics might rise in desperation, and thus force him to take a decided part. De Quadra exacted a promise from their leaders that they would not stir without encouragement from the King of Spain; but he was obliged half-reproachfully to tell Philip the truth, that not only were the Catholics losing hope, but that they complained of him as the cause of their sufferings. In deference to his wishes they had rejected the proffered hand of France, with the help of which they would have restored the Church; and they were so injured and aggrieved that words could no longer console them.²

Philip, it is evident, had built his hopes on the Dudley marriage; and so anxious was he to bring it about that he would have done all that he was asked to do, and have insisted on no condition.³ But de Quadra warned

¹ De Quadra to Granvelle, November 27.—*MS. Simancas.*

² De Quadra to Philip, January 31.—*MS. Ibid.*

³ Sir Thomas Chaloner gives a singular account of Philip at this time. ‘The King,’ he said, ‘a good

and gentle prince, is a lover of rest and quiet, delighting in hunting and retired solitariness with a few of his familiars, to take the more at large the fruition of such pastimes as best delight him.’—*Chaloner to Throgmorton, January 15. CONWAY MSS.*

him that in so doing he would be trying the patience of the Catholics too far. Dudley in himself was an object of mere abhorrence to them. Elizabeth could not be relied on; and the marriage once over, she would turn round on Philip and be as troublesome to him as ever.¹

CHAP V
1562
February

De Quadra in point of fact had found Elizabeth's humour growing dangerous again. Just as she was beginning to believe that she might trust the Queen of Scots, she had discovered Lady Lennox's project of marrying her to Darnley; and there were unpleasant circumstances about Lady Lennox, which caused her to be jealously watched. When Elizabeth was arrested as an accomplice in Wyatt's conspiracy, Lady Lennox had insulted her at the palace, and had done her best to persuade Mary to destroy her.² The lady's behaviour had been passed over and forgotten; but none the less had she identified herself with the Catholic faction. She had brought up Darnley in the most elaborate practice of Catholic ceremonies.³ Her husband's castle in Yorkshire was the gathering place of the Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, where at her table Elizabeth was spoken of as a bastard, and

Lady
Lennox.

¹ De Quadra to Grauvell, April 3. —MS. *Simancas*.

² 'How that innocent lady cruelly by her was handled is well known. How unfaithfully—the Queen's Highness being sent for sick, caused she pull down her hangings, and above her head being in her wimple caused she keep a kitchen [sic] to her Majesty's displeasure, with casting down of logs, pots, and vessels. What reports made she against her and others, to procure her going to the Tower; what slander at sundry times

hath she reported,' &c. &c. *Notes of the behaviour of Lady Lennox. Domestic MSS., ELIZ., vol. xxii.*

³ 'To preserve the hearts of the Papists to regard her untrue title, she hath contemptuously and openly declared her religion. Under colour of her conscience she useth her bedes, auricular confession, pinning of idols and images within and above her bed and the bed of the Lord Darnley, whom she hath grafted in that devilish Papistry.'—*Articles against Lady Lennox. MS. Ibid., vol. xxiii.*

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1562
February

the family fool was taught 'to rail at the Queen and Lord Robert.' The secrets of the royal household were betrayed there by Francis Yaxlee, a gentleman of the bed-chamber. 'She herself did set forth the Queen of Scots' title, declaring 'what a good thing it were to have both the realms in one, meaning the conjunction of her son to the Scottish Queen, who should be King both of Scotland and England.'¹

Some of the worst of these proceedings, together with the proposal which she had made to Mary Stuart, reached Elizabeth's ears. Yaxlee was arrested; the Earls of Cumberland and Westmoreland were sent for to London; Norfolk, Huntingdon, Rutland, and Northampton, were ordered into the northern counties to keep the peace: while the Earl of Lennox went to the Tower, and orders were sent out for the instant appearance of his wife.

Resistance was impossible: the Catholics were indignant, but helpless; Lady Lennox came to London prepared to face down the accusations against her, but was silently imprisoned, and alarmed at the danger, the Protestants proposed that the Queen should have the same power which had been given to her father of naming her successor by will.²

A doubt was raised on Lady Lennox's legitimacy. In the 'Act of Divorce between her mother Queen Margaret, and her father the Earl of Angus, it was pretended that at the time of their marriage Angus had been

¹ Articles against Lady Lennox.—*Domestic MSS.*, ELIZ., vol. xxiii.

² 'Tengo por cierto que la cosa pasara en que el Reyno de facultad á la Reyna de testar y elegir heredero á quien quisiese, todo por excluir á la de Escocia y á Miladi Margarita, y porque la succion cayga en manos de algun herege destos'

And again—

'El desío de Cecil que lo gobierna todo no es sino de eschuyr á la Reyne de Escocia y á Milady Margarita que son Catolicos y que el Reyno quede en poder de hereges.'—*De Quadra to Philip, January 31. De Quadra to Granvelle, April 3. MS. Simancas.*

already married to another woman; and Randolph with some difficulty obtained a copy of the proceedings, to be held as a menace over Lady Lennox's head.

CHAP V
1562
March

'They may prove what they will,' wrote de Quadra, 'as to legitimacy, but the Lord Darnley will have the votes of Protestants as well as Catholics. I have been lately asked whether if he fly to Flanders your Majesty will receive him. The Catholics rest their whole hopes on him and his mother. They would rebel if they could, and forces enough could be raised in the realm if there was any hope that they would be supported from abroad.'

Of Philip's interference however or of his allowing any one else to interfere, there was no hope. Lady Lennox and her husband were left in the Tower, and the Queen of Scots made haste to clear herself of a connexion which ran counter to her present interests. Don Carlos, and not Darnley, was the real object of her ambition; and she affected, and perhaps felt, entire indifference to the fate either of him or his mother. The worst that could happen by their removal from the field was to leave her the sole representative of the Catholic party. She was instructed by the Guises to keep on good terms with England, to prevent Elizabeth from meddling in France. She explained away therefore such circumstances as seemed suspicious. Autograph letters full of seeming affection, continued to pass between the two Queens; and the interview was solicited both by Mary and her ministers more ardently than ever. Lord James assured Randolph, and Maitland insisted to Cecil,

Lady
Lennox is
sent to the
Tower.

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1562

March

that, although earnestly entreated by her uncle, Mary Stuart had refused to 'renew the old league with France;' she would have no friend but Elizabeth, and no advisers but themselves; while Maitland threw himself on Cecil's generosity, and implored him no longer to oppose a settlement which appeared of so happy promise. The union of the realms was 'the mark at which he had always shot;' Cecil had been 'a father to him,' and he would be proud to be thought 'one of Cecil's creatures,' if Cecil would 'achieve that he had begun, and maintain that he had already made.'¹

To these and similar entreaties, though Elizabeth had seemed to listen favourably, Cecil had remained cold, or had answered only, 'in parables.' He had his own distrust of Mary which her smooth words had failed to remove; and he regarded Maitland only as illustrating the truth of his own prophecies. Maitland had foretold that the Queen of Scots would gain her subjects over by skilful management; he had been himself the first whom she had conquered.

The Duke
of Guise
meditates a
Catholic
crusade.

Meanwhile in France the apostasy of the King of Navarre being once secured, the Duke of Guise, with the secret assistance of Philip, prepared for a Catholic crusade. The refusal of the Queen of Scots to renew the league with France was probably a concerted measure. The public reception of Mary Stuart in England, after the false game which had been played by Dudley, would do more to injure the hopes of Condé and the Admiral than a Scotch alliance which would insure them Elizabeth's support. The exquisitely futile theological differences between the Lutherans and the Calvinists furnished means to work

¹ Randolph to Cecil, February 22 and February 28. Maitland to Cecil, February 28. Randolph to Cecil, March 31.—*Scotch MSS., Eliz., Rolls House.*

upon the Germans. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine half persuaded them that after extirpating the Huguenot heresy they would reform the French Church on the Lutheran model. In February the brothers had gone to the Rhine to see the Duke of Wirtemberg. On their return through Champagne they separated. Lorraine went on to Rheims; the Duke with his servants and train halted on the 1st of March at the village of Vassy, and Guise, as was usual with him, entered the church to hear mass.

The Calvinist meeting-house was close by—set there probably in deliberate insolence. When the priest began the Catholic service the Protestant congregation roared out their psalms. The Duke, who for the time had no thought of using violence, sent a message entreating them to be silent for a quarter of an hour; mass would then be over, and they could sing as they pleased.

The Protestants replying only with louder peals, Guise repressed his temper, bade the priest go on and knelt quietly down: but his followers were less patient: two of his pages, German boys, called out at the chapel porch that the people were dogs and rebels; the congregation shut the door against them; others of the Duke's train had gathered round, and still half in sport pushed it open again; while at the moment, hearing the scuffle, Guise himself came out with his sword in his hand.

A stone was flung at him which drew blood, and with a shout of rage his men dashed at once among the unfortunate Huguenots—cutting down men, women, and children. They made no attempt at resistance. A mere huddled and shrieking crowd were easy victims. The few who attempted to escape by the roof were shot down from the outside. The Duke restored order at last; but not till sixty people had been killed and two hundred

The massacre of Vassy.

CHAP V

1562
MarchThe Prince
of Condé
takes the
field.

wounded. This 'massacre of Vassy,' infamous as the first of the series of atrocities which culminated in the black day of St. Bartholomew, was the spark which lighted the fire of civil war. Condé demanded justice. The savage populace of Paris muttered in answer that the conqueror of Calais was the best friend of France, and Guise entered the capital in triumph. The Queen-mother was at Fontainebleau, and Condé pressed her to fly with the King. She hesitated, and the Prince at first thought of carrying her off by force; but he was overruled by the Admiral: Catherine de Medici, with Charles the Ninth, were conducted by the King of Navarre into Paris; the Prince withdrew to Orleans with Chatillon, and sent out his circulars calling the Calvinists to arms. The Admiral divided with Guise the affections of the army. The old soldiers of Italy gathered about him. The great towns—Lyons, Tours, Poitiers, Bourges, Rouen, Havre, and Dieppe—declared for Condé, shut their gates, and garrisoned themselves. Inferior in numbers, but with the advantage in order, discipline, and resolution, the champions of the Reformation stood prepared like the English Puritans with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, to fight out their quarrel. 'Their modesty of demeanour was beyond example. Each company in this army had its minister; and daily prayer was said throughout the camp. Their songs were psalms. When they played they played for sport, and blasphemy was never heard among them. No *filles de joye*, as among the Catholics, loitered among their tents. If a soldier was found with a woman he was forced to marry her.'

So strong Condé became that he was expected daily at

¹ This account of Condé's followers rests on the impartial testimony of Varillas.

Paris again; and Guise was forced to temporize. The affair at Vassy was censured in a public edict. Terms were offered for the security of the Protestants, with which their leaders were almost satisfied. There were still hopes that the war might be avoided, when the rage of both parties burst from restraint. At Sens and Blois the Catholic mob flung themselves like wolves on the unhappy Huguenots. Women and children were hacked in pieces. Ministers had their eyes torn out of their sockets, and were flung blind and bleeding into the fire. The Calvinists at Tours in revenge plundered St. Martin's tomb, and burnt his bones—an act more agitating to pious minds than a hundred thousand murders. With the passions on all sides at fever heat, the talk of reconciliation died away. The appeal was only to the sword.

The breaking of the storm brought the Lutherans to their senses. The Princes of the Augsburg Confession prepared to arm. Would Elizabeth arm also? or would she leave those to whom again and again she had promised help to their own resources? She hated spending money; she hated the Calvinist theology; she was playing her own game with Mary Stuart. At times she had a constitutional difficulty which increased with the emergency in taking any decided step. But with all her uncertainties she loved liberty. Tales of murder and cruelty never appealed to her in vain: she had her eye on Calais and Normandy, and was ready to run some risks for them.

On the 17th of April, Throgmorton sent her a detailed account of the position of the two parties. He insisted on the undoubted support which Philip was lending to the Guises; he assured her of the certain existence of a general conspiracy for the extirpation of Protestantism; and himself passionately desirous that she should inter-

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fere, he touched the points most likely to influence her decision, and indicated what it was desirable that she should do.

Throgmorton urges Elizabeth to support the French Protestants.

‘You Majesty,’ he said, ‘doth see the present state here which is in such terms as it behoveth you greatly, well to consider, and deeply to weigh what may ensue; and whether it be meet in this dangerous and captious time to have any interview this summer betwixt your Majesty and the Queen of Scotland. Already the ambassador of Spain¹ hath within these three days used such language to the Queen-mother as she may conceive the King, his master doth mind to make war to repress the Prince of Condé, if the King her son and she will not—as one that saith he hath such interest in the crown of France by the marriage of his wife, and in respect of the conservation of the Christian religion, as that he will not suffer the same to fall into ruin and danger by heresy and sedition.

‘It may chance that in these garboyls some occasion may be offered as that again you may be brought into possession of Calais, or of some port of consequence of this side; but howsoever things fall out, it standeth your Majesty upon for your own surety and reputation, to be well ware that the Prince of Condé and his followers be not in this realm overthrown. I shall not need to make any long discourse unto your Majesty who is so well advised, but only put you in remembrance what profit, surety, and credit your Majesty hath obtained by maintaining your friends and such as concur with you in religion in the realm of Scotland.

‘Assuredly although this papistical complot did begin

¹ Perrenot de Chantonnay.

here first to break out, yet the plot thereof was large and intended to be executed and practised as well in your Majesty's realm as Scotland and elsewhere. It may please your Majesty the Papists within these two days at Sens in Normandy have slain and hurt two hundred persons—men and women. Your Majesty may perceive how dangerous it is to suffer Papists that be of great heart and enterprise to lift up their crests so high.’¹

The arguments which had justified the interference in Scotland were of equal force for the defence of Condé, and Calais was an additional inducement; but Elizabeth's first desire was to mediate. A general religious war through Europe was a terrible possibility; and she was well aware that by supporting subjects against their sovereign, she was legitimatizing every conspiracy against herself. By Cecil's advice she sent Sir Henry Sidney to the Queen-mother, with an offer to assist her in keeping the peace; while Dudley flinging out his bait as usual on the chance, wrote to Condé of his own and the Queen's interest in him; and to Throgmorton, this precious defender of whatever cause seemed most convenient—‘expressed his thanks to God that her Majesty did not so much measure common policy as she did weigh the prosperity of true religion, as well to the world as for conscience sake.’²

It became rapidly clear however that if Elizabeth were to be of use to the French Protestants, she must employ other means than mediation. Catherine de Medici was powerless. The Guises, the Constable, the Marshal St. André, and the King of Navarre, controlled

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, April 17. Lord Robert Dudley to Throgmorton, May 8. The Queen to Sir H. Sidney, May 10.—CONWAY MSS.

² Cecil to Throgmorton, April 24. May 10.—CONWAY MSS.

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Court, and King and threatened only fire and sword. If Elizabeth stood by while they cut the throats of the Huguenots, her own turn would come next; and Throgmorton told her she must use her opportunity 'for her surety, and perhaps her profit as musicians make melody of discord.' 'At a time,' he said, 'when every state was hovering to make a prey of its neighbour, her Majesty might not be careless. She should prepare with as little display as might be, and she should mean more than she showed.'¹

It was the Scottish question over again, only in a more dangerous form. There a collision with Spain had been unlikely if not impossible; here it was certain. Philip did not affect to conceal his own intentions, and knowing the influence which would be brought to bear upon Elizabeth by the Protestants, he wrote to de Quadra to insist that she should remain neutral.

While Elizabeth was uncertain what to do, Cecil made the most of the time, directing Chaloner to assure the King of Spain that whatever the world might say, the Queen had not assisted the Prince of Condé; the ambassador 'might put it out of all doubt.'² A few weeks later he could not have said so without lying; but he made a virtue of the Queen's irresolution while he was able, and at the same time laboured to end it with all his power. He found however when it came to the point of action a real obstacle, of which if his policy was to go forward it was necessary for him to rid himself. Wherever Cecil plotted, he discovered ever the adversary at work with his counterplots. De Quadra had wormed himself into Elizabeth's confidence deeper far than he liked, deeper than he altogether knew. After each interview of the

¹ Throgmorton to Lord Robert Dudley, May 8.—CONWAY MSS.

² Cecil to Chaloner, June.—*Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

subtle Spaniard with the Queen, Cecil found himself compelled to feel 'what roots he had shaken;' and the dangerous course which he was about to enter required absolutely that there should be no secrets between himself and the Queen.

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De Quadra had been from the first in close correspondence with the leaders of the English Catholics. He had his correspondents in every English county, in the royal household, and in the families of the Lords. As the representative of the King of Spain, the old English Conservatives, the friends of the traditional Burgundian alliance and the advocates of the Austrian marriage, all looked to him. Durham House where he lived was the focus of conspiracy; and by the water-gate leading to the Thames, disaffected Catholics, Irish chiefs, political intriguers, and even ministers of state, sought his presence, sent their messages, and received their instructions from Philip. The latest of these visitors had been Shan O'Neil the great Irish rebel, of whom more will be heard hereafter—who, after beating Elizabeth's troops in the field condescended to visit her court, and used the opportunity to offer his services to Philip when the battle of the faith was to begin.

Something of these doings was known to Cecil, and more was suspected. It was time that they should end, and accident provided the means of ending them. It happened one day that de Quadra had occasion to send his confidential secretary on some matter of business to Cecil. Borghese—so the secretary was called—was the person who ciphered de Quadra's letters, and held the keys of his correspondence. At the instigation of the devil—as his master thought—he went over to the English Government, and offered to betray all that he knew. And he knew but too much. Doctor Turner, a priest, had been lately despatched to Flanders, in the interest of

The Bishop
of Aquila
and his
secretary.

Starper.

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Lady Lennox, with a detailed account of the names and resources of the disaffected Catholics. 'Turner had died abroad, leaving his papers in the possession of this Borghese who had accompanied him; and Borghese, before he restored the originals to his master, had taken careful copies of them.

Cecil wished him to return to the ambassador, and remain at his post as a spy. Unfortunately the Bishop too had spies of his own in Cecil's household, who gave him notice of his servant's treachery. A day or two later the Spanish courier was arrested at Gadshill and stripped of his despatches; two of the young Cobhams were the perpetrators, disguised as highwaymen; and the next news was that Sir George Chamberlain, and another of de Quadra's friends, were in the Tower. The Bishop's first and natural impulse was to kill Borghese. To take life was against the profession of a priest: nevertheless on occasions these little objections might be waived. On second thoughts he reflected that in England a murder might create a scandal,¹ so he made an excuse to despatch the man to Brussels, where the thing could be done more conveniently. Borghese however not trusting the Bishop's scruples, escaped while his master was deliberating, took refuge in Cecil's house,² and made a complete revelation of every secret that he knew. In vain de Quadra tried to bribe him to go abroad. The mischief was done, and could not be remedied. For the first time the Queen learnt the magnitude of the difficulties which surrounded her; and although the

¹ 'El castigarle en la vida por vias extraordinarias attende de ser contrario á mi profesion.'

² 'The secretary is now departed from the Bishop, and pretendeth to be moved in conscience to utter things against him, because he per-

ceiveth him to labour breach of amity betwixt the princes, and to serve the Pope rather than the King. He requireth that he may avow all these things to the ambassador's face.'—*Cecil to Chaloner, June 8. Spanish MSS.*

delinquents were of too high rank to be immediately arrested, the Bishop could not but fear the worst consequences both for himself and them.¹

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'I have done my best to repair this disaster,' he wrote to Granvelle, 'but I have failed. The devil that has entered into my servant will not be exorcised. I have tried to induce him to leave the realm, I have entreated, bribed, threatened, promised, all to no purpose; and to put him to death, as he deserved, would have been awkward. I would have consented to it myself, and for the nonce would have broken the rule of my habit; but I should only have irritated them the more, and increased their suspicions.'²

Finding his position desperate, de Quadra looked his misfortune in the face. He went to Elizabeth, told her (with so worldly wise a person it was unnecessary to mince matters) that he had spared the life of the man to prevent disturbance, and requested her to send him out of the realm. Elizabeth, who as yet was imperfectly informed about Borghese's revelations, said that she had every desire to gratify the Bishop, but that she could not send a man away merely for revealing secrets of state to her own ministers. Two days after she sent him word that his servant was arrested, and if he had any complaint to bring she was ready to hear it. He replied that he had not asked for the man's arrest,

¹ 'Es grande el mal que sus avisos han hecho y hacen á estos Catolicos, y mas harán cada dia aunque ahora no osa la Reyna meter mano á los mas grandes por no dar ocasion á algun tumulto.'—*De Quadra to Antonio de Toledo, June 6.*—*MS. Simancas.*

² 'Y el acabarle la vida como su maldad merecia, tenia consigo tantos inconvenientes que aunque yo quisiera consentirlo y atravesarme á la regla del habito no fuera sino irritar mas á estos.'—*De Quadra to Granvelle, June 8.*—*MS. Simancas.*

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but for his expulsion. He discovered that his secretary was at large in the palace, and that Cecil was busy daily taking down his information. He demanded an audience again, and it was refused.

‘What the man will reveal,’ he wrote to Philip, ‘will be the names of the persons who come to my house to talk with me, and certain letters of my own, which they will be too happy to read. Of actual designs, of actual engagements or promises made by your Majesty, this man can tell nothing, for he knows nothing. The worst which he can say is that I have endeavoured to obtain information on the state of the realm by all the means in my power.’¹

The noblemen chiefly implicated in the exposure were Lord Montague and the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. There was some uncertainty about Lord Derby; and to try his loyalty, a letter purporting to be written by Philip and containing large promises of favour, was left at his house by an unknown hand. The Earl who believed it authentic sent to de Quadra for an explanation; de Quadra put him on his guard and saved him from committing himself.

To Cecil the most distressing and in every way agitating part of the matter was the account, which till that moment he had never thoroughly understood, of the propositions which Elizabeth and Lord Robert had made to the King of Spain. He saw the delicate ground on which he was treading; while on the other hand, the insolence with which the Bishop had written habitually of Elizabeth herself could be made the most and the worst of.

¹ De Quadra to Philip, June 6.—*MS. Simancas.*

When the case was complete the Queen again sent for the ambassador, and calmly but coldly said that she had to complain of the language which he had used about her to the King of Spain. CHA

The situation was too desperate for excuse. Looking at her straight in the face, de Quadra answered that having been pleased to listen to the stories of a servant who had betrayed his trust, she had heard things which there was no occasion for her to have known. He could not call the precedent a bad one. Whatever he had said or done—good or bad—had risen from occasions which she had herself created. He had acted to the best of his ability, and if the result had been unsatisfactory to her, he had discharged his conscience to God and his master.

‘She said,’ he continued, in reporting the scene to Philip, ‘that I could not deny that I had sent Doctor Turner to Flanders to concert measures to take her crown from her, and to give it to Lady Lennox.’

‘I answered that I had sent Doctor Turner on business of my own; that I had failed myself of the opportunity to inform the Duchess of Parma of the state of England, and of the designs of France; Lady Lennox’s name might very likely have been mentioned; the French wished to attach her to their party, and to marry her son in France, that if the Queen of Scots died they might have another candidate. England and France at that time had appeared to be on the edge of a war; and I had but done my duty in apprising your Majesty of such things. The public peace of Europe was likely to be broken. I was bound to inform myself of the rights of the different pretenders to the throne, of their plans and their con-

nexions, and to prepare your Majesty for all contingencies. This however was all previous to the death of King Francis. Since that time my letters had been read entirely with her Majesty's marriage with the Robert, the reception or non-reception of the io, and of the representation of England at the il of Trent. If her wishes had been defeated in matters the fault was not mine: she could herge between me and others; which had been her quest friends.

'She tried to answer me, but she could not. At last I said I should be glad to know what my servant had revealed which had so offended her: I would then tell her the plain truth: I should satisfy her, if she wished to be satisfied; if not, I must set myself right with your Majesty.'

The Bishop calculated rightly that Elizabeth could not afford to quarrel with him. Both she and Lord Robert had committed themselves with him too deeply. A list of charges was drawn out, which he enclosed with his answer to Philip, were the Turner papers, on which alone a serious charge could be built, were studiously

¹ De Quadra to Philip, June.—*MS. Simancas.*

² Articles alleged against the Spanish ambassador by Lord William Howard and Doctor Wotton, with the answers of the said ambassador:—

1. That you the ambassador did

draw a book of

in which the

a Spanish nation

and that you

might judge

his disposition

the Queen towards him.

Answer.—'It is true that I did send such a book. I had remonstrated till I was weary, of the perpetual books, plays, and songs which were written in the King's dishonour. The Queen had promised many times to stop them, and had not done so.'

2. 'That you the ambassador complained that the Queen had given the Spanish heretics a church, and that they were much favoured both by her and by the Council.'

Answer.—'I wrote that a large house belonging to the Bishop of

